

*Londinum Triumphans,*  
OR AN  
*HISTORICAL ACCOUNT*  
OF THE  
Grand Influence  
THE  
**ACTIONS**  
OF THE  
**CITY of LONDON**

Have had upon the AFFAIRS of the  
NATION for many Ages past.

SHEWING,

The *Antiquity, Honour, Glory and Renown* of  
this **FAMOUS CITY**; The *Grounds* of her  
*Rights, Priviledges and Franchises*; The *Foundation*  
of her **CHARTER**; The *Improbability* of a  
*Forfeiture, and Impossibility* of a *Legal Seisure*; The  
*Power and Strength* of the *Citizens*, and the *Preva-*  
*lency* of the *Commonalty* in their *Contests* with the  
*Magistracy*.

Collected from the most *Authentick Authors*, and illu-  
strated with variety of **REMARKS**.

---

*Nullum est jam dictum, quod non dictum sit prius.*

---

No new thing under the Sun.

*William Joseph*  
**LONDON**

Printed for the Author and are to be Sold by *L. Curtis*  
at the Sign of *Sir Edmondbury Godfreys Head*, MDCLXXXII.





# THE DEDICATION

To the HONOURABLE

<b>S</b> ir Thomas Allen, Kt. & B <sup>t</sup>	} Aldermen of the City of L O N - D O N.
Sir John Frederick, Kt.	
Sir John Lawrence, Kt.	
Sir Robert Clayton, Kt.	
Sir Patience Ward, Kt.	
Sir Thomas Gold, Kt.	
Sir John Skotter Kt. and Henry Cornish, Esq;	

And to the Worshipful

Thomas Pilkington, Esq; A-	} The Worthy SHERIFFS for the year Past.
nother of the Aldermen of the said City, and	
Samuel Shute, Esq;	

Sir Thomas Player, Kt. Chamberlain of the same,  
Thomas Papillion, Esq;  
John Dubois, Esq;

And to all the rest of those Eminent Ci-  
tizens who have so worthily asserted the Rights,  
Liberties, Priviledges, Franchises, and Immuni-  
ties of this Ancient and Honourable CITY.  
This Book is most HUMBLY DEDI-  
CATED by.

W. G.

W. C. F. 701-10

TO THE  
READER:

**I**F *Antiquity and Duration, wealth and riches, strength and power, can make a City famous: If an honourable renown, visible grandeur, and unparallel'd priviledges may render her glorious in the eyes of the World: If the Spirit of her Citizens, influence of her actions, and a continued train of Successes can justly give her the denomination of powerful; Then may this great ancient, and renowned City of London deservedly be esteem'd one of the eminentest Cities of the Universe, unless the Lie be given to the most Authentick of all our English Historians, and we must not, like the Papists, believe our own eyes, nor give credit to our ears, but bid adieu to all rational knowledge, and deny the force of true Logical Illustrations, inferences, and conclusions.*  
Such

## TO THE READER:

*Such being the subject, of this following Treatise, purposely design'd for a demonstration of Londons power, and a convincing argument of the irresistible influence of her actions over all the Nation for many hundreds of years, strongly founded on undeniable Truths, and throughout carried on, in an uninterrupted series of affairs, by a train of instances and examples, and an unbroken chain of inductions: And being conscious to my self of no base slurs nor abuses ingentilely impos'd upon the faith of any one, by false quotations, corrupting of Authors, or wilful mistakes, as knowing my self easily disprov'd if guilty, and therefore so much the more cautious, by how much the more certain, that these Papers would be made to undergo the severe Ordeal of a strict and rigid examination from a critical age, I am apt to flatter my self into the hopes of being accepted among the lovers and admirers of this Honourable City, and of having pre-*  
*sented*

## TO THE READER.

sented the worthy Citizens with somewhat grateful, pleasing, and delightful to their palates, because treating of their Ancestors glory and renown, their own power, and the necessary consequence thereof, the grand influence of their publick actions and fixt resolutions upon the Councils of this Kingdom. But whether my trust and confidence in my own poor abilities, and my hopes are so good, as my ambition is great to serve this Honourable City, and I have any sound reasons to believe it within the sphere of my Capacity, and the power of my pen, to lay any thing looking like an obligation upon the worshipful Citizens thereof, others are the most proper judges, and the event will best shew. If any, out of prejudice to the subject and a censorious Spirit, shall lay it to my charge; that the whole book looks reflective, in answer to the imputation, I shall humbly desire this favour at his hands, that he would be pleas'd to give himself the trouble of turning to the

## T O T H E R E A D E R.

*the Authors, to whom I so often refer, and thence he may be abundantly satisfied of my honesty and sincerity, if he be not over much prejudic'd already, or of so narrow a Soul, as to be wholly and altogether byass'd to the interest of any one particular party against the plainest evidence of sense, reason, and truth. Besides in my further vindication I can assure him, that a great part hereof was drawn up the last Autumn, and undeniably prove it too, by demonstrative Arguments, if need were. So that if it had appear'd in the world so early, as was at first designed, though I have been unwillingly hindered hitherto, some on the other side might have been by this time ready to have term'd it predictive: Though it was never intended as the off-spring of Prophecy or Astrology, but only the result of an ordinary judgment, and common foresight, grounded on easy unforc'd deductions from plain historical truths, and the apparent consequences of things acted on*  
the

## TO THE READER.

*the English stage heretofore. Therefore I shall not value the impertinence of weekly observations, nor dread the doughty remarks of the whole tribe of common ordinary Scriblers, as thinking my self secure within the strength of the argument, and the authorities here produc'd to confirm and illustrate it; whereupon I am bold to defy the art and malice of evil minded men to disprove me in any thing necessarily material as to the substantial part thereof, though as to what concerns any of the lesser Errata, I hope the courteous Reader will be so much a Gentleman, as to look on them but as venial errors, and favourably pass over those slips of my Pen, if he apprehend any such, as unavoidable weaknesses always incident to human frailty. For I profess myself rather a Transcriber than an Author, and esteem this Relation the product of my reading more than the issue of my brain: Which if it may be in any wise advantageous to the publick, and acceptable*



## TO THE READER.

*ceptable to the Learned and Ingenious,  
I know not but , upon good encourage-  
ment, I may be ready enough to pro-  
duce somewhat else more extensive,  
than to the Rights of one particular  
City, though it be acknowledged time  
out of mind to have been the Epitome  
and Abridgment of the Kingdom, ~~as~~  
as well as the head both of Kings<sup>dom</sup> and  
Laws.*

---

T H E

## *Londinum Triumphans.*

**H**OW considerable a Figure the City of *London* makes in the present Government, is conceal'd (I suppose) but from few in the Land: But the Influence its Actions have had upon the Affairs of the Nation in past Ages, is not so generally known. The Glory and Splendor of this Noble City, is so obvious to the Eyes of the Curious, that they cannot rationally conceive it to be the Work of a Day, or an Age; but that, like other Cities eminent in Story, it hath risen up by Degrees from small Beginnings, to its present Greatness, through a long Tract of Time, and the Concurrence of many considerable Circumstances to make it Famous. The Original of this City is sufficiently acknowledg'd to be Antient; but where to fix the true and certain Bounds of its Antiquity, is not so easily agreed upon by Writers. What one sets down for a Truth, another many times esteems to be Fabulous. Scarce any thing being more common amongst the Learned, than to have different Sentiments about the Original of Things, and be at variance amongst themselves about the first Beginnings of Times and Places. True indeed, we can deduce the very first Origine of the World, from the Sacred Leaves of Holy Writ; but They, who have not had the Benefit of those Heavenly Oracles,

B

or

or do not with Us believe their Divine Verity, are compell'd to grope in the Mists of Darkneſs and Confuſion, while they ſearch after the Firſt Exiſtence of all Things in the Writings of Prophane Authors. The prime Pieces of Antiquity, that we meet with amongſt the *Heathens*, are the *Theban*, and the *Trojan Wars*; and thoſe too ſullied with the Fabulous Narrations of their Poetical Writers. Beſides which, we ſcarce find amongſt them any thing deſerving Credence and Belief, except the mention of the *Argonaut's Voyage*, and a few Paſſages more: All the reſt are huddled up in ſuch a confuſed Maſs of Fables and Fictions. And yet theſe ſo celebrated Pieces bear Date ſome hundreds of Years after the *Flood*. So ſhort do the Prophane Writings fall of the Divine, even in Time, as well as Truth; unleſs we account the *Dynaſtyes* of the *Egyptian Kings*, (mentioned by ſome Writers worthily eſteem'd Fabulous) for true *Hiſtory*, and make any Reckoning of ſome Men's Relations; who tell us of *Chronologies* amongſt the *Chineſes*, of Thouſands of Years before the *Creation*, according to our Account: The whole Tranſactions whereof, they would do well to produce in our *European World*, that we might be able to judge, what Credit ought to be given to their Words; and not any longer ſuſpect, that they ſhield themſelves under the Protection of the Priviledge antiently allow'd to *Poets* and *Travellers*.

Seeing then, in theſe Humane Writings, we are left ſo much in the Dark, in what concerns the Firſt Being of the Univerſe; we have little Reaſon to wonder at the variety of Men's Opinions about the Settling of Nations, and firſt Inhabiting of Countries: Much leſs are we to admire, that the Foundations of Antient Cities are involv'd in ſo much

much Obscurity, that we can scarce trace them up to their Original, without being often put to the stand in our Searches; as finding but little certain Truth, mix't with a great deal of apparent Falshood. Therefore, I hope, the *Courteous Reader* will the more readily pardon what he meets with of Humane Infirmary and Frailty, in this Attempt; and pass over the *Errata's* he finds in this *Historical Relation*, as Venial Faults.

SHOULD I lay the Foundation of this Honourable City in the Days of *Brute*, I might to some seem a Relater of Fables. Should I not trace its Original so high, others might be apt to think, I slighted its Antiquity. So difficult a thing it is to please *all*, so in a manner impossible to displease *none*. Let me do the utmost of my Endeavours to avoid the Imputation of seeming Fabulous, I should nevertheless be in doubt, where safely to fix, by reason of the different Esteem Men have of different Ages. One preferring *This*, Another *That*, and a Third (perhaps) valuing *Neither*; as thinking the *Relation* of Things done in Times, so far distant from Ours, not worth our Regard. Wherefore, rather chusing the Part of a Faithful *Historian*, than courting Men's Favour and Applause, I shall deliver some of the most material Passages, which I find of this Antient City upon Record: Only, with this Request unto the *Reader*, That as he sees Cause, he would judge of me as an *Impartial Relater*, without thinking me over ready to give Credit to all, that Authors have said of those Elderly Times.

The *Trojan War* hath been so Celebrated by *Homers* Pen, that the Fall of *Troy* may deservedly be judg'd to have rais'd it higher upon the Wings of Fame, than if it had still continued in its antient

Grandeur. For I find it to have been the Ambition of many Writers, in some Ages past, to draw the Original of their own Nations, from some War-like *Hero* of the *Trojan* Race. The *Romans* Glory in the *Trojan* Blood, as drawing their Pedigree from *Aeneas*, and the *Trojans*, that he brought with him into *Italy*. *Padua* is deriv'd from *Antenor*, another *Trojan* Leader. And not to mention any more, *Brute* descended of *Aeneas*, with his *Trojans*, is said by some to have given Original to the *British Nation*. That this hath been the Endeavours of some Authors, is plain enough, as being Matter of Fact; but the Reason of this Design is not so obvious, unless it may be lawful to conjecture, That in the grosser Times of *Popery*, the Scriptures being kept from the Eyes of the *Vulgar*, by being lock't up in unknown Languages, and the *Monkish* Writers lacking either Will or Ability to peruse them; and so becoming ignorant of *Divine History*, thought it the readiest way to ennoble their own Nations, by deriving them from some of the Antientest *Hero's*, that they meet with in *Heathen Story*. Or else, depending upon *Rome*, as their *Mother-Church*, they were desirous to vye with her in their Original, as well as accord with her in Religion. Whether *Brute* Descended from *Aeneas*, by a Son of his Eldest Son *Ascanius*, or by his Younger Son, born of *Lavinia*, is a Point not fully decided among *Historians*.

This *Brute*, Exil'd his Country (according to some) for having accidentally slain his Father, with his *Trojans*, after many Chances, and Dangers past, is said to have directed his Course towards this *Western Island*, by the Advice of *Diana*, which he receiv'd in his Sleep, in an Old Temple of hers, standing in a Part of *Affrica*. In his Sailing thitherward,

therward, he met with (it seems) a small Navy of *Trojan Ships*, under the Conduct of his Nephew *Corineus*; and joyning together, at length, after other Dangers over-past, he Landed in *Cornwal*, at a Place since known by the Name of *Totnes*. This was in the Year since the Worlds Creation, 4063. according to *Fabian*, (who professes to follow the Account of the LXX.) about the Time of *Ely's* being High-Priest in *Israel*, Forty Years after the Destruction of *Troy*, (which is held by some to have fall'n out in the Time of *Abdon's* being Judge in *Israel*) before the Building of *Rome* Four Hundred and twenty Years, before our *Saviour Christ's* Incarnation, One Thousand One Hundred and Thirty Six. But in this Point *Chronologers* differ: *Stow* places it *Anno Mund.* 2855. before *Christ's* Nativity 1108.

After *Brute's* Landing, in his Searching the Country, he is said to have destroy'd I know not how many great and mighty Gyants; one whereof, named *Gogmagog*, wrestled forsooth with *Corineus*; and having of him caught a Fall down *Dover-Cliffs*, left his Name to the Place. Those *Monkish* Writers scarce thinking their *Hero's* Valour sufficiently Celebrated, unless they make them meet with, and encounter some such Gygantick Adventures; where the little Knight shall be sure to over-come the great Gyant.

*Brute* having bestowed *Cornwal* upon *Corineus*, after he had thoroughly searched the Land, for the Pleasure he took in *Thames*, he laid There (as we are told) the Foundation of a City, about the Second Year after his Landing in this Isle; and, in remembrance of Old *Troy*, named it *Troynovant*: which Name it held till the Time of King *Lud*, near upon One Thousand and Sixty Eight Years;

from whom 'twas named *Lud's-Town*, afterwards *London*, as shall be declared in Process of Story.

What Repute and Esteem this City was of in those Days, as being Builded by the First Founder of the *British Empire*, I shall leave to the *Reader's* Consideration; who may find it honoured with the Sepulture of many of their Kings, as of *Brute* himself, and his Eldest Son *Lochrine*, to whom in the Division made by his Father, fell *Middle England* for his Share; wherein *Troynovant* was situated: To whom may be added *Cunedagius*, and *Gorbodug* the Father of *Ferrex* and *Porrex*, the Last of *Brute's* Line.

But now the Coast begins to clear up a little more, after the Storms of Civil Wars, by the Success of *Mulmutius Dunwallo*, Son of *Cloton*, Duke of *Cornwal*. This *Dunwallo* having vanquished the other Competitors, and settled the Land, caused a Temple to be builded in *Troynovant*, and named it the *Temple of Peace*; the same (according to some Men's Opinions) that now is called *Blackwell-Hall*, a Place well known to the Clothiers. His Fame is much increas'd by the many good Ordinances he made, which were called *Mulmutius's* Laws, and used long after his Decease.

That this City of *Troynovant*, was of Repute and Renown in this so Famous a Man's Days, is hardly to be doubted of by him, that considers so eminent a Circumstance, as the Building of a *Temple of Peace* within the Circuit of this City, as an Effect of that Peace he had so happily settled in the Land; and, it may be, in Gratitude to the Citizens, who probably favour'd his Cause, and so might much influence his Actions and Enterprizes. In the same *Temple of Peace* was he laid after his Death, which he had been the Occasion of Building in his Life.

In

In the Time of *Belinus* and *Brennus*, his Sons, after their Reconcilement & Accord, we read of their going to *Troynovant*, with their Lords and Friends; where, after many things ordered for the Common Benefit of the Land, they joyntly agreed to lead both their Hosts over the Sea, to subdue other Countrys; the Smart of which Voyage the *Romans* felt sufficiently under *Brennus*, and his *Gauls*. By *Belinus* we find, that an Haven was built in the same *Troynovant*, with a Gate over it, call'd even at this Day, *Belings-gate*; on whose Pinnacle was set a Brazen Vessel, which contain'd the Ashes of his Body, burnt after his Death. In this City we likewise find, that *Gurguintus* was Buried, and also *Guintellius*, his Son; from whose Wife *Marcia* came the *Marcian-Law*, fam'd long after among the *Britains* and *Saxons*.

These being of some Eminency in their Lives, and Buried in this City after their Deaths; It may presumptively be concluded, That they lived most plentifully therein, as their Principal City, and the Metropolis of the Realm. Yet we read of other Cities of Note, in those Times, and after; as of *York*, one, where *Archigallo* (before depos'd by his Lords, for his ill Government) was, through the Intercession of *Elidurus* his Brother, then Reigning, at a Council of the *Britains* by him call'd, restor'd to his former Dignity; When the same *Elidurus* had gain'd the Assent of his Barons, and the good Will of the Commons.

However, *Troynovant* seems, in those Days, to have been esteem'd a Place of Security; and mention of a Tower therein we find, on Occasion of the same foremention'd *Elidurus*'s being sent thither by his unkind younger Brothers, to be safely kept as a Prisoner therein.



The succeeding Times are so barbarous, that but little considerable is left upon Record, concerning any Actions then done; untill we come to the Reign of *Lud*, Eldest Son of *Heli*, which began about Sixty Six Years before our Blessed *Saviours Incarnation*, according to *Stow*.

This Man is much prais'd by the Historian, for his Worthy Actions, and Honourable Deeds; for his Valour, Liberality, and Hospitable House-keeping; and his repairing Old Cities, and Towns. Especially in *Troynovant* he is Recorded to have caused many Buildings to be made, encompassing it also round with a strong Wall of Lime and Stone. In the West-Part whereof stands a Gate by him Buildd, and known, even at this Day, by the Name of *Ludgate*. For his Love to this City, he used most to abide therein; Whereupon it was called *Caer-Lud*, or *Lud's Town*: Whence by Corruption, and shortning of Words, comes the present Name *London*; whereby it shall be called for the future, and the former Name, *Troynovant*, laid aside in this following *Relation*. *Lud* dying after an Honourable Reign, he was Buried in the aforementioned Gate of his, named *Port-Lud*, or *Lud-gate*; where are yet standing the Statues of Him, and his Sons, as a lasting Monument of his Memory.

In *Cassibellan's* Reign, the next Successour, (but whether Son or Brother to *Lud*, is not agreed upon by all Authors) we find considerable mention made of *London* in the Story, through Occasion of *Cassibellan's* Victory over the *Romans*, newly Landed under the Leading of *Julius Caesar*, and twice repelled by the *Britam's* Valour. *London* was the Place appointed by the King, to Celebrate this Victory, return Thanks to his Gods, and Rewards to his Valourous Knights. Here therefore we read  
of

of a great Assembly held of his Lords and Knights, and of the King's keeping a Noble and Solemn Feast for all Comers, and the Exercise of all kind of Games in those Days used. But Difference arising at the Wrestling between a couple of Young Noble Knights, allied, *One* of them to the King, and the *Other* to *Androgeus*, Earl or Duke of *London*, (as he is somewhere called) and from Words these Hotspurs coming to Blows, occasion'd such sifeing and variance amongst the Company, that many were wounded, and the Kings Nephew slain, to the great disturbance of the Court.

For Disgust hence growing between the *King* and *Androgeus*, (to whom the King had given the City of *London*, with the *Dukedome* or Earldome of *Kent*, besides an Honourable Education, suitable to his Birth, he being *Lud's* Eldest Son, and so Heir to the Kingdom, according to some Writers, the other being but his Brother) and this Disgust producing War, wherein the King was likely to be much the stronger; *Androgeus* recalls *Caesar*, with his Romans, to his Aid, and assists them in their Landing; and joyning his whole Power, soon turn'd the Scales, bringing Victory to the *Romans*, and an Overthrow and Loss of their ancient Freedome to *Cassibellan*, and his *Britains*. So considerable was the Assistance, that *Androgeus*, with his *Londoners*, and other Knights, brought to the Enemy: So difficult was it, even to *Caesar* himself, to Conquer *Britain*, having been more than once foil'd by the *Britains*. *Caesar* tells us of the *Trynobants* being the strongest of all those *Cities* (by which understand *London*) which submitted to him; over whom he placed, at their request, one *Mandubratius*, whose Father, their chief Lord or Ruler, *Cassibellan* had before Slain. Be these two  
Histories

Histories the same or different; yet either, I believe, will serve to make good my Assertion of *Londons* Power, Fame, and Esteem, in those ancient Times.

Though *Britain* was hereby made Tributary; yet I do not find, that *London* lost it's Esteem. For *Tenancius* is said to be Buried here; and also *Cunobelinus* or *Kymbeline*, his Son, both King's after *Cassibellan*. In this *Kymbeline's* Days, near about the Nineteenth Year of his Reign, or Fourteenth, according to *Stow*, Our Blessed Saviour, *Christ Jesus*, was Born, as is the Opinion of most Writers. Henceforth therefore, leaving off the Old way of accounting from the World's Creation, I shall follow the Christian manner of Computation, reckoning from the Birth of our Lord *Christ* (which was in the Forty Second Year of *Augustus's* Empire) as a surer, and more certain way.

Except the Crowning of *Arviragus* in *London*, I find but little mention of this Honourable City, till the Reign of King *Lucius*, who being esteemed by many the first Christian King in the World, turn'd the *Arch-flamins-See* at *London* into an Arch-Bishoprick; the Names of some of which Arch-Bishops we meet with ever and anon in Story, as such who had a considerable Power in the Land.

About 226. *London* was of such Strength, that *Alectus*, with his *Romans*, (as *Fabian* relates) being over-press'd by the *Britains*, under the Leading of *Asclepiodotus*, chose this City for his Refuge, as being then (it seems) of greatest Security; and he being afterwards slain, *Livius Gallus*, another *Roman* Leader, manfully defended himself, and his *Romans*, in the same City, then closely besieged by the *Britains*; till in their entring, he was slain near a River running thereby, and thrown there-

into;

into; which occasioned it afterwards, to be call'd *Gallus*, or *Wallus-Brook*: Some Memorial whereof we find remaining at this Day, in the Street now standing, where that River sometimes ran, and known by the Name of *Wall-brook*.

After the Departure of the *Romans* out of this Land, many Outrages being committed by the *Picts* and *Scots*, in the Time of the *Emperor Honorius*, we read of a Council call'd by the Arch-Bishop, with the *Princes* of the *Britains*, to consult of some Expedient to many Miseries then hanging over them by reason of their Enemies Strength, and their Inability to defend themselves; as being then without any certain Head. The Result of which Meeting was to desire Aid of the King of *Little Britain*, which they by Embassy obtain'd under the Conduct of his Brother *Constantinus*; and, after Victory by him gain'd over their Enemies, Crown'd him King of the Land, according to their Promise before made.

Here was a turn of Affairs effected by the Consult at *London*. Another Change we find, not long after, through the Treachery of *Vortiger*, and the *Pict*, who slew *Constantinus's* Son, *Constantinus* then King, and presented his Head to the aforenam'd *Vortiger*, then at *London*. Which City doubtless, in those Days, was of much Esteem and Regard; and thereupon *Vortiger* (who bore the Chief Rule in the Kingdom at that time, though the other had the Name of *King*) probably was much resident therein; expecting, it may be, and waiting for the Performance of this Treasonable Act; that he, being on the Place, might have the better Opportunity to caress the Chief of that Eminent City. 'Tis certain, we find him afterwards endeavouring

ing to cajole the People, by the great Sorrow and Heaviness he made shew of for the Kings Death, and by putting the accursed Traytors to Death, for their Wicked Fact, according to the Law of the Land.

Thus many Love the Treason well enough, when successful, who nevertheless hate the Traytors, after their own Turns be serv'd.

This is that *Vortiger*, so Infamous in the *British* Story, for his own Vices; as Incest with his own Daughter, Adultery, &c. and the Vices of the Times under him. For we read, that Vice was then accounted of small, or no Offence. Leachery reigned amongst the Spirituality and Temporality. Every one turned the Point of his Spear against the true and innocent Man; and the Commons gave them all to Idleness and Drunkenness; whence ensued Fighting, Strife, and much Envy.

*After the King's Example, the World runs a galloping*, is a Saying commonly too true: As this *Vortiger* gain'd his Power by Treachery, so he Reigned in a manner *Precariously*. For he was so perplexed, on the one side, for fear of the Return of *Constantinus's* surviving Sons, to claim the Kingdome; and the Land, on the other side, so harra's'd by the In-rides of the *Picts* and *Scots*, that he was after a sort compell'd to send for the *Heathen Saxons*, who came (under their Leaders *Hengist* and *Horlus*) to support him, about Four Hundred and Fifty Years after Our *Saviours Birth*.

The coming in of these Strangers prov'd but (as it were) the beginning of Miseries. For being once let in, they soon began to Play their Reakes in the Land; and never left, till by introducing more Colonies, they had settled themselves, and dispossest the *Britains* of the best of the Country.

Neither

Neither was it any great wonder, that the poor Commons endur'd such Miseries from these New-come Guests, when as their Spiritual and Temporal Guides were so given up to all manner of Debauchery. One of *Hengist's* Pranks we find to be, his Treacherous slaying of the *British* Lords at *Stonehenge*, on *Salisbury* Plains, under pretence of a Treaty for Peace. But the better to work out his own Ends, he is said to have sav'd the King alive, whom he knew to have become his Enemy in shew, more out of Constraint for fear of his *British* Lords, than for any Hatred towards him; he having him sufficiently intangled in the Snares of his Daughter *Rowena's* Beauty. So common a thing is it for crafty subtle Men, to serve their own Ends, by working upon anothers Lusts, through the Mediation of an handsome Face, and Prostitute Body.

We read of the *Saxon's* having got *London* under their Rule; but whether by their own Power, or the King's Gift, I find not clearly mention'd. That he gave *Kent*, and other Counties to *Hengist*, is declar'd by the Historian. It may be, that he gave them also *London* to curb it; for fear least the Citizens should joyn with *Constantinus's* Sons (whose Return he much dreaded) and assist them to regain their Fathers Kingdom.

Henceforward, for some time, we are not to expect to find *London* so Considerable in Power, under the *Saxon Heptarchy*, as it was before, and after. But when all the Seven were reduc'd into one Kingdome, and the Affairs of the Land settled in a little more Peace and Quietness, *London* began again more and more to Flourish, and soon rose up to such an height, that it became the fixt Metropolis of the Nation.

Yet

Yet in the Time of the *Saxon's Heptarchy*, we find mention made of this Noble City several times, and on several Occasions. As upon account of *Mordred's* choosing this City to be Crown'd in, when he rebell'd against King *Arthur*: The holding of it by *Mordred's* Son against *Constantine*, Son of *Cador*, till he was slain: The Flying away of the Bishops of *London* and *York*, and other Ministers, with their Goods and Reliques, for fear of the *Saxon's* Cruelty under *Ethelfride*; Whereby the Commonalty were left without Spiritual Guides, the City without Her chief Pastors: The setting up an Arch-Bishoprick there, by *Austine* the Monk, and the making of *Melitus* Bishop of the same, in *Ethelbert's* Days: The Building of *St. Pauls* either by the same *Ethelbert*, or else by *Sigebert* King of the *East-Angles*, as some affirm.

In this *Ethelbert's* Time, we read in *Fabian*, of the Building the First Church of *Westminster*, in Honour of *St. Peter*, by a Citizen of *London*, in the West-End of *London*, in a Place called *Thorny*, (now *Westminster*) which before was over-grown with Bulhes and Briars. But *Stow* affirms *Sebert*, King of the *East Saxons*, to have Built it.

In the Time of *Ethelwolph*, Son of *Egbert*, King of the *West-Saxons*, *London* is said to be spoild by the *Danes*; and so not likely then to be of any great Strength, though we find the *Danes* drawing themselves thitherward, in *Alured* or *Alfred's* Days, after an Agreement concluded between them.

But now again, begins this City to be often mentioned in Story, and grows more Famous every Day, after that King *Alured*, having Victoriously repeal'd the *Danes*, return'd thereunto, repair'd those Places, that before had been injur'd by the  
*Danes,*

*Danes*, and committed it to the Guiding of *Ethelred*, Earl or Duke of *Mercia*, who was his Son-in-Law, by Marrying his Daughter *Elfreda*.

Hence may we date another Beginning, as it were, of it's Glory and Lustre, from this new Resurrection out of the Ashes of its former Ruines. Some of the next News we hear of this Honourable City, is of the *Londoner's* beating away the *Danes*; who Landing in *Suffex*, and coming to the Town of *Lewes*, and thence towards *London*, had Buildd a Castle near the River of *Lewes*, the more to annoy the Country; but the Citizens Valour, with the Countrys Help, soon demolished it.

In the Reign of *Edward*, the Eldest Son to the forenamed *Alured*, we find *London* thought so considerable, that the King took it under his own Rule, not entrusting even his own Sister therewith; thinking it probably too important a Charge, to be committed to any Subject, never so nearly related to him; because of the Power that would accrue to the Possessor thereof, and the Danger might thereby happen to him (the King) in those troublesome Times, upon any the least Difference arising between them.

When *Egelred* or *Etheldred*, Son of *Edgar*, rul'd the Land, we read of the *Danes* coming to *London* (they being ready enough to haunt any Place, that could afford them Spoil and Pillage) but we find that then they were repel'd by the Citizens. The City it seems, was strong enough to defend their own.

But soon after that, another sad Accident befell the City, against which it was not so well able to defend it self, viz. A great Fire, whereby a large Part of it was destroyed. So rare is it, for any thing great in this World, to arrive at it's Greatness



ness from small Beginnings, without being Subject to many Mischances, and meeting with many Turns and Changes of Fortune, before it can arrive at the height of its Grandeur.

*Fabian* tells us in his Chronicle, that the City had then the most Building from *Ludgate* towards *Westminster*, and little or none where the Chief, or Heart of it now is ; except that in diverse Places there were Houses ; but they stood without Order. This he professes to have known by an Old Book, in the *Guild-Hall*, named *Domesday*. But where-ever the Building stood in those Days, or how great Harm soever the Fire did it, nevertheless it continued of such Strength and Riches, that the *Danes* were willing to have got it into their own Power ; and in Order thereunto, besieged it ; but that they took it at that season, I read not. Yet some Years after, I find the *Londoners* sending Gifts and Pledges to the *Danes*, to divert them then coming towards *London*.

'Twas in *Egelred's* Days, that the *Danes* thus harassed the Land, and did almost whatever they pleased ; selling the *English Men* Peace for their Money, and then breaking it again at their Pleasure, to get a greater Sum. This gave the first Occasion to the Imposition of that Tax upon the Land, called *Danegelt*. And the Pride, and Lordly Imperiousness of the insulting *Danes*, gave Original to the opprobrious Name of *Lurdane*, as now it is esteem'd ; though then it was *Lord Dane* ; a Term the *English* were for fear compell'd to give those proud lazy *Danes*, that Rul'd and Domineer'd in many of their Houses, at the right Owner's cost.

Neither is it much to be wondred at, that this Land was brought into so great Misery by these  
Hectoring

Hectoring Strangers, when as we find Dissention amongst the Lords; and such treacherous Dealing, that whatsoever was devis'd by *Some*, for the Hurt of their common Enemies, it was quickly by *Others* of the same Council betray'd, and made known to them. The King giving himself to a vicious and incontinent Life, and, to get Money any manner of way, sticke not to diminish Men of their Possessions for small, or feigned Causes, (according to the History) and after cause them to redeem their own, for great Sums of Money.

In *London* 'twas, that I find this unfortunate *Egelred* more than once residing, for his own Security (it seems) more than for any Aid he attempted to get of the *Londoners*, to defend his Land. Here he fell sick, died, and was also Buried; and with him, some of the *English Men's* Shame and Dishonour.

For *Edmund Ironside*, his Son, favoured by the *Londoners*, and some other Lords, was Crown'd in that City; and thence departing with his Strength, so hotly pursued *Canutus*, the *Danish* King, that he was several Times put to the worst, and in fair likelihood to have been utterly over-thrown, had not the false *Edric* (who having got an Habit of Treachery in *Egelreds* Days, could not so easily forsake his Old base Conditions) oft disappointed King *Edmund*, by his Treacherous Dealing. By this *Edric's* Treachery, I have read, That *Edmund* lost his Life afterwards; for which Fact, the false Traytor expecting a great Reward at the hands of *Canutus*, had his Head exalted (according to the others Promise) above all the Lords of *England*, it being stricken off, pitch'd upon a Spear, and after set upon the highest Gate of *London*.

But about the King's Death and *Edric's*, Authors

thors are found much to vary. Neither is it any marvel, that Writers differ so often, and so much in their Relations of Things done so many Ages since ; Whenas, in things but as it were of yesterday, we may observe so much difference in the different Relaters, especially if it concerns divers Parties ; Authors too too often Writing partially, in Favour of their own Side.

That *London* was, in those Days, of very considerable Strength, we have much reason to believe : since that by Help thereof chiefly, *Edmund* was able to bear up so valiantly against the Fortunate *Canutus* ; whom most of the Lords, especially of the Spirituality, favoured. 'Tis certain enough in the Story, that *Canutus* was not ignorant of the great Influence the City had then upon the Nation's Affairs ; and therefore was as desirous to get it into his Power, as *Edmund* was sure he had it at his Devotion. For *Canutus* soon drew with his People to *London*, and would have entered ; but was hindered by the Citizens. Then he would have forc'd his Enemies ; but he was quickly compell'd to withdraw, and go elsewhere : Such valiant Resistance did the Citizens make against his Assault. Another time he was drawing apace thitherward, but King *Edmund* was as diligent in preventing him ; and after a cruel Fight, forc'd him to be gone. So eagerly did these two hardy Competitors strive for the Possession of this Renowned City in Particular, as well as for the whole Kingdom in General. The Possession and Favour of the *Eldes One*, is a good Step to the safe keeping of the *Orth of Eg*. This also, I presume, was *Canutus's* Opinion. For *History* acquaints us with a Council kept at *London* by the same *Canutus*, after *Edmund Ironside's* Death. The Design whereof (if we may Judge by the Ability

ver

vent) was to exclude the others Sons from all Claim and Pretensions to that Part and Share of the Kingdom, that their Father once enjoyed quietly by mutual Consent and Agreement. The very place might contribute somewhat to *Canutus's* Delign, though the Inhabitants should not be brought to give their Assent in open and exprefs Words. 'Twas done at *London*; a pat Answer to such as durst seem to dislike the Kings Proceedings. What? Dare you question, what was done in the Capital City of the Realm? A pretty Fellow indeed, to murmur at those Actions, which the Citizens of the Head City, the Metropolis of the Nation, did not openly dislike, nor disavow.

It is observable, in the Time of this *Canutus*, that in the Contest between Him, and the *English* King *Edmund*, the Spiritual Lords especially were his Favourers, and sided with him. A remarkable Instance of Temporizers among the Chief of the Clergy; and that they do not always stick to that Rule of Birth-right, which they so much applaud, when they think it may turn to their Secular Advantage; but like other poor, simple, ignorant Souls among the Laicks, can be content sometimes to squint aside upon the more prevalent Object of prosperous Might and Power; and leave *that*, to which they are pleas'd to call *Right*, as forsaken and forlorn for the sake of their Temporal Concerns.

Here was, on the *One* side, *Edmund Ironside*, the eldest Son (as far as I can perceive by the Story) of *Egelfred* putting in for the Crown, as his Birth-right and lawful Inheritance; but, under the Pretence of a weak Fathers unprosperous Reign, and of his own Strength small in appearance, and of little Ability, in Humane likelihood, to defend such as

would adhere to him. On the *Other* side, stands a Strong and Fortunate Competitor; his Arms in his Hands; a numerous Attendance of Victorious Soldiers waiting on him; most part of the Country under his Subjection, and prosperous Success attending much upon his Banners; though a Stranger; an Enemy by Inheritance; a *Dane*; one that could pretend no other Title to the Crown, than what we hear off, but what his Predecessors did owe to the Sword, and he could make good by the same Claim. Yet to this more powerful Pretender, with a long Sword in his hand, do these Time-serving-Priests chuse to joyn themselves, against an Old Friend by Birth; a Native; an *English Man*; with a better Title (according to their own Doctrine at some Times) but shorter Sword, as was then thought before sufficient Tryal had been made. But now I think on't, they have like Passions and Infirmities with other Men, and do mind Secular Interests of their *Own*, as well as *Others*; at the same time that they endeavour to bring the Vulgar into a belief of a Commission (they say) they have received from an Higher Power; and so pretend to greater Sanctity. True, it is said, They had before time sworn Fealty to *Canutus's* Father. A fine delicate way, to defeat another's Right. Either they had before sworn Allegiance to *Egelred, Egenmund's* Father, or they had not. If they had, what became of their Loyalty here, to forswear That and swear anew to a Stranger; an Enemy-King; and after persist in the latter Oath, in prejudice of the Former; persevering in giving away, what was none of their own to bestow; they having already, by their first Oath, sworn away themselves to another? If they had not, how came they so readily to swear Fealty to their Native-King's pre-

fess

fessed Enemy? Did they well herein, or ill? If  
 well, what then becomes of that darling Doctrine  
 of *Primo-geniture*, and of Mens Right of Inheriting  
 by the Law of Nature, not to be cut off, forsooth,  
 (under even the freest Constitution of Govern-  
 ment) by any Humane Law whatsoever, though  
 never so many urgent Inconveniencies be clearly  
 foreseen, threatening the utter overthrow of the  
 Nations Fundamental Rights? If ill, what made  
 them continue therein, when they had so seasona-  
 ble an Opportunity of retrieving themselves, by  
 acknowledging, bewailing and forsaking their for-  
 mer Error? But it may be, they knew not how to  
 escape the Imputation of Perjury. Nay rather, did  
 they not lack Will, more than Power, to return  
 to their *English Sovereign*, from that more Fortu-  
 nate Outlandish Prince, to whom these wiley  
*Priests* had addicted and devoted themselves? Had  
 they Will, they knew not (it may be) how to  
 disentangle themselves out of the Snare of those  
 Bonds, wherewith they had once bound them-  
 selves, and wanted the Face openly to break them,  
 without some Fig-leaf Cover or other, to hide them-  
 selves under the Shadow thereof. They had not  
 (it may be) hear'd of, or not well observed the  
 plausible fine-spun Pretences, that had been used  
 before in the World; neither had they cunning  
 enough, to find out those more Politick Shifts, the  
 Wit of after-Ages have either since invented, or  
 much improv'd. Be they either the *Popes* Infallible  
 Power (as some call it) of absolving Subjects from  
 their Allegiance, or the nice distinguishing between  
 the Matter and Form of an Oath: The Default of  
 some pretended necessary Circumstances, in ma-  
 king, or the Train of ill Consequences suggested  
 upon the keeping the Oath, or Impossibility of its

Observation after taking it, slyly insinuated : The picking a starting Hole out of some general Term, or dubious Interpretation of a Word : Or the yet neater way of bribing a great Company ; a considerable Number ; many Thousands of Men, out of a Common Stock, with good Places, and Honourable Preferments, by publick Subscriptions to declare the Oath, (for some few, small, minute, petty, fancied Inconveniences) invalid, and of no binding force.

But be it by the Power of the Sword, or by whatsoever Claim else *Canutus* held the Crown, we nevertheless find him to have Govern'd the Land honourably after that he came to be sole King ; and, it may be, to the Content of many of his Subjects : for 'twas the Memory, doubtless, of his Repute, that set and kept the *Crown* upon the Heads of both his Sons ; otherwise of themselves of little Worth or Value, if compar'd with their Father.

One remarkable worthy Act of *Canutus's* is recorded amongst others, viz. That in the Ninth Year of his Reign he call'd a *Parliament* (so my Author terms it) at *Oxford* ; where, amongst other things, it was enacted, That *Englishmen* and *Danes* should hold the Laws of *Edgar*, lately King.

In the Transactions of these Times, we may believe the City of *London* had no small Share, as being probably (at length) pretty well pleas'd with the Father's Reign ; whereupon the *Citizens* may be supposed to conduce (at least, in some measure) to the settling his Sons on his Throne. For *Harold Harefoot* is said by some to have dyed at *London*, after a Three Years Reign ; and the other of *Canutus's* Sons, *Hardicanute*, was joyfully Receiv'd, and Crown'd at the same City.

In *Edward the Confessor's* days, the Land being not much troubled with intestine Broils, there happ'ned but little Occasion for trying *London's* Strength: And thereupon, I find no great mention of that Honourable City, unless in a Passage or two; as about *Edward the Outlaw's* dying therein; and of the King's being there some time before, with his Councill, when *Earl Goodwin* was charg'd to come to Court, and render into the King's Hands all his *Knights-Fees*. that he, and *Harold* his Son, held in *England*. The Effect whereof, was the Outlawing of the foremention'd *Goodwin*, for his Disobedience, and departure out of the Land with his Sons, by Authority of a *Parliament*, call'd a little after.

In this King's Reign also, we hear at both Ears of the evil Manners among the Bishops, the Chief of the Clergy, of their Voluptuousness, Gluttony, Leachery, Covetousness, Wordly Pomp, &c. as also of their Endeavours to excuse their Manners, by answering, that they were suitable to the Times: A generall Corruption among Men of a Religious Habit being the Common Forerunners of great Turns and Changes in a Land, as it fell out here soon after this King's Decease.

This is the King, to whom (according to the *Annalist Stow*) we are indebted for the Common Law, gather'd out of the Laws and Ordinances of the *Mercian's*, *West Saxons*, *Danes* and *Northumbers*.

What Spirit was in the Men of those Times, is in part manifested in the Message sent to *Harold* by the Inhabitants of *Northumberland*, when he was sent thither by the King to do Correction upon those, who had risen against his Brother *Testus* their Duke, for a cruell Act by him committed, taking away what he had, and chasing him out of the Country. Continuing together in a considerable



b'e Body. they gave him to understand, that they were freely born, and freely nourish'd; and might suffer no cruelty of Dukes: That they had learned of their Elders and Sovereigns, to maintain Freedom, or to suffer Death; - and to live in quietness under an easy Duke. Upon which Message, their Pardon was procur'd them of the King, and another Duke assign'd.

Within less then a year after *Edward the Confessor's* Death, we read of the landing of Duke *William*, with his *Normans*, at *Hastings* in *Suffex*; who came with a strong Army, to demand the Crown of *Harold*, who had no Title, (but what he claim'd by the Power of his Sword) and the Dukes Claim also went but upon a limping Foot. As great as the Duke's Host was, enough it seems by the Event, to help to win a Crown, we find *London* so strong, as to hold him out (when he and his Army came thereto) till he had given good Assurance, that he and his People would pass through the City without tarrying; which was also observed accordingly.

When *Harold* was utterly over-thrown by these *Normans*, and so room made for the Title of *Edgar Atheling* to take place, we find the *Londoners* among the chief of those, who were upon Associating themselves each to other, to defend his Right to the utmost of their Powers. This Agreement indeed was afterwards broken; but by the making of it we are well enough assured, that the Citys Strength was then esteem'd very considerable.

Another Argument let me produce out of *Stow's Annals*; where it is recorded, that *Edwin* and *Marcgar*, both then Powerfull Earles, the One of *Mercia*, the other of *Northumberland*, after *Harold's* Death came to *London*, and solicited the Citizen

to erect one of them to the Kingdom. Though this their enterprise was frustrated, yet doubtless it may prove *Londons* Power; otherwise 'tis hard to believe, these two potent Earls would have applied themselves to the Citizens, that they would chuse one of them for King, and upon the Failure of their Design would have quietly departed, without shewing some resentment, had not the City been too strong, easily to be dealt with, or slightly to be anger'd, with Safety and Security. The other more rightful Heir was the Person pitch'd upon. But the other Nobles of the Realm not powerfully assisting, and *Edward Atheling* not being (it seems) of Ability sufficient to manage his own Concerns himself, and undertake so great a Charge, 'tis no wonder that this Renowned City (suffering it self to be born down the Stream with the Times) submitted it Self (with the rest of the Land) to *Duke William*, who made some pretence to a Title; Whereas *Harold* could shew nothing for his, but his Sword; And therefore it may be 'tis, that we read not in antient Histories, (that I remember) of this Citys assisting him, to defend himself against *Duke William's* Power.

Here now is a great Change indeed. The Power and Strength of the Kingdom turned from both the *Britains* and *Saxons*, and devolved upon the *Normans* by means of this *King William*; the Date of whose Reign begins, reckoning immediately after *Harold's* Death, *October* the Fourteenth, *Anno Christi* 1066, according to Chronology.

In this *King* (who himself, by the General consent of Writers, was basely Born) is founded the Succession; for higher they care not much to go, who keep such a stir about our Princes inheriting according to their Birth-right. Though, if this be  
made

made the fixt unalterable Rule, of Twenty Six Kings and Queens reigning Successively, upon recourse to the History of their Reigns, we shall meet with a dozen (at least) of them, who cannot be denied, but to have come to their Crowns with Flaws in their Titles. Nay, if we reckon in the Number, such as may have been controverted upon that Account, we may safely add the other *Half dozen*. That from the general Rules there are many exceptions, we learnt almost as soon as we went to our *Grammar-School*. This King *William* is commonly called the *Conquerour* in History; which acquaints us, That he came in with an Army, and conquered *Harold*; who is esteemed little less than an *Usurper*. But that from thence we should conclude him a *Conquerour* of the whole Land, and look on it as a Nation totally subjected by Force of Arms, it seems to me to lack a little better Proof, than I have yet met with.

That King *William*, after he was well fixt in the Government, might reckon this Conquest amongst his other Titles and Claims, (whether by *Harold's* Oath, the *Pope's* Gift, the *King's* Testament, and a little of Kindred) I shall not deny. For I have read, that King *Henry the Seventh* had a mind to put in for this Title also; but 'twas after he had well and surely gained the main point, *Possession*. But upon perusal of the Histories about those Times, it appears a little unlikely, that this Duke *William* should get the Land into his own Power so wholly by Conquest, as some would insinuate, for secret intents possibly, and purposes of their own?

Though *Harold* was Conquered by that one *Battle*, yet I do not think, the Land was: For besides *London's* Strength (where *William* was forced to yield Conditions, before he could pass through, as afore)

afore) the Earls of *Mercia* and *Northumberland*, then of considerable Power, are said to have withdrawn themselves and their People to that City, without so much as being present at the Battel. How also the *Kentishmen* enclosed Duke *William*, and his Victorious Army, and compelled him to grant them the continuance of their Old Laws and Customs, is sufficiently manifested, if only by the single Evidence of their Antient Law of *Gavelkind*, yet continued amongst them.

If this be Conquest, to be forced to yield Conditions ; What is it to be Conquered ? Wherefore, we may better (I believe) from these premised Considerations conclude, That the Chief of the Nation, knowing him to be a Man of Strength and Ability, and of great Fame, chose rather to submit to him upon fitting (reasonable) Conditions, than hazard the running into the Miseries of War, by committing themselves to the Guidance of so young and weak an Head, as *Edgar Atheling*.

That King *William* made a League with such as submitted, and swore Fealty to him, stands recorded in *Stow's Annals*. True indeed, after he was well fixt in the Throne, he might not much mind his former promises ; but contrary to them, might do many irregular Acts to strengthen himself, as he thought, and settle the Crown the surer upon his own Head. Whereof we find mentioned in Story, his endeavour to raise his *Normans*, by introducing them into the chief Places in Church and State ; and impoverish the *English*, by setting grievous Impositions and Taxes on them. One we read of very considerable, in the Nineteenth Year of his Reign, when he made to be gathered Six Shillings of every Hide of Land, which would rise high, according to my Authors reckoning ; who says, an  
Hide

Hide contains Five Yards ; a Yard Four Acres ; an Acre Forty Perch in length ; Four in bredth ; Eight of these Hides make a *Knights-Fee* or *Ploughill*. Forty Eight *shillings* upon Eightscore Acres, was a great matter in those Days ; though it sounds but a small Sum with Us, who have lived to hear of the Wealth of a New World, brought into the Old One.

To this may be added, his Craft in inrolling his *Barons* Land, their *Knights-Fees*, Towns, Number of Men and Cattle within the Realm, in *Dooms-day-Book* ; the better doubtless to know the Strength of the Land, and be the more able to raise what Taxes he pleased, without being very easily deceived by concealments.

More instances of *Arbitrary Power* might possibly be observed, which nevertheless are not deservedly esteemed Tokens and Markes of Conquest. That great Persons, in the height of their Grandeur, often forget former Covenants and Promises, is no such wonder ; it is so common, so usual, for some Men to promise more in half an hour, when they conceive it for their present Advantage, than others find performed in Seven Years. If Arbitrary Acts of Rule are able to prove King *William* a Conquerour of this whole Land, I do not know but many others may also be esteemed Conquerours, who passed for good Ruling Kings in the days of their Power.

Though King *William* held the *Englishmen* so low, that in his days there was almost no *Englishman* that bare an Office of Honour or Rule (if *Fabian* may be credited ; for some others deny it, as to some particulars :) This being certainly the too too common Effect of letting in a Forreign Power into a Land, where those that were the Introducers of the Forreigners as Friends, have hardly  
escaped

escaped *Polyphemus's* Courtesy, of being devoured last; Witness in this Land, the introducing the *Saxons* by the *Britains* and the *Normans* upon them: Yet the same *Historian* intimates, that he somewhat favoured the City of *London*, and granted to the Citizens the First Charter that ever they had, written in the *Saxon* Tongue, and sealed with Green Wax, being expressed in Eight or Nine Lives.

This may be construed to be done, either in gratitude to the City, for giving place so easily to his Fortune, or because he found the Citizens so pliable to his Will, or rather in policy to have so considerable a Place the more at his Devotion, and fix it the stronger to his Interest: So subtle a *King* as he was, being in no wise ignorant (I presume) of the great Impression, the Actions of the chief City in a Contry usually makes upon the whole Nation. So that though *London* changed Masters, it changed not Fortune; but (notwithstanding it received damage by Fire, which burnt a great part thereof, and also of *St. Pauls*) rather gained more Honour and esteem under the *Normans* Rule, by becoming the *Metropolis* of the whole Nation, and the Theatre, wherein hath been acted some of the most considerable Passages, that have since happened in this Land, whether in Peace or War. Most of our *Parliaments*, many of the *Bishop's Synods* and *Convocations*, the *Kings* usual Residence, his Court, his Council, and Places of *Judicature*, having been generally kept either in the Liberties of this City, or not far distant from it, at *Westminster*; which being of a much later Date, (as is hinted before) is nevertheless known to be a distinct City, of different Rites and Customs, and under another Government; though the Buildings joyning both  
Cities

Cities in a manner together, may occasion For-  
 eigners to give the Common Appellation *London*  
 to the Whole ; and we Natives also, many times,  
 use the same General Term in private Dis-  
 course.

In *St. Pauls* in *London*, was kept that Synod of  
 the Clergy, in *William the First's* days ; which or-  
 der'd many Bishop's Sees to be translated from  
 small Villages, and such obscure petty Places, to  
 the greater Cities. For by this time, the Policy of  
 the *Popes of Rome*, in diverse parts of *Europe*, had  
 introduc'd a distinct Government in the Church,  
 different from that of the State: And so founded  
 ( as it were ) one Empire within another, to have  
 the whole the better at their Devotion. So that,  
 if Kings or Rulers of States were not as submissive  
 to their Imperious Commands, as they desir'd, they  
 had the Church in the Land to overaw those, who  
 bore the Temporall Sword ; and left the chief  
 Church-men ( being often prefer'd by the Magi-  
 strates means, through the *Popes* great Condescen-  
 tion, as they would have it thought ) should prove  
 a little Refractory, they had the *Monasteries*,  
*Abbies*, *Priories*, *Nunneries*, and such like, in a  
 manner, under the *Popes* peculiar Jurisdiction, to  
 curb them, by the Power they could raise out of  
 their Tennants, Friends and Kindred. *Romes* high  
 and lofty Prelates, thus striving to have their  
 Spoons in every Ones Dish: which Desire of theirs,  
 we do not find at all diminished, though now their  
 Wings be much clipt. Nay, we find them the more  
 eager now, in their pursuit after their antient un-  
 Greatness, under the pretence of a former Right  
 which was first obtain'd by none of the best and  
 honestest ways. And so they might regain it  
 Experience tells us, they would not stick at the be-  
 per

perpetration of the most Exécrable Villanies, the Art of Man can invent, or the Hand can act. Whence else come all those Wars, Massacres, Persecutions, *Plots*, Conspiracies, *Designes*, Intreagues, Frauds, Deceits, raising of Publick Jealousies, fomenting of Private Feares, exasperating of Mens minds, heightning their Animosities, debauching their Moralls, and Corrupting Religion it self, with the rest of those Cursed Arts and *Seed-Plots* of Sedition, where with our Ears have been so long filled, that the sound is not yet gone out of them; nor know we when ever it will, as long as they can meet with so many foolish Bigots, and prophane Debauchees among the Sons of Men: The One to be gull'd with the Hopes of Heaven, for the Performance of such Meritorious Acts, as they will put them upon; the Other to be purchased with a Bag of Money, or a Plump Whore, to favour their *Designes*, facilitate their Purposes, carry on their Projects, and protect their Crimes, if detected, from Publick Justice.

As *London* was favoured by the first *William*, so I find no great reason otherwise to believe, but that it continued in favour and fame under the Second *William's* Reign. Yet I meet with but few Passages of it, excepting what may seem to tend to its disadvantage, (as the Harm it sustained from a Violent wind, that is said to have overthrown at one time above 600 houses, and much injured the roof of St. *Mary Bow* in *Cheapside*, as also the hurt was done another time about it by the Inundation of *Thames*) unless we should think it received some addition of honour, from the great charges *William Rufus* was at about the *Tower*, which was to adorn it, I suppose; for that it was builded long before, hath been related above; & that it was of good strength in



in the preceding Kings dayes, is enough evident, in that we read it was made *Marcharus*, the Earl of *Northumberland's* Prison. This *Tower* having been before times, and very often in later days, the place of confinement for great Men, when esteemed Offendors. This is the *King* that built *Westminster-Hall*; and being after displeased at it for being not big enough to his mind, intended (as 'tis said) to have built one much larger, and make the other to have served for a Chamber. The wicked Lives of the insulting *Normans*; the Miseries and Vices of the depressed *Englishmen*, with the depraved Manners of the corrupted Clergy, were so notorious in this Kings dayes, that Writers could not well pass them over without mention.

In *Henry* the 2d's Time, we read of the founding of *St. Bartholomew's-Church, Priory and Hospital* in *Smithfield*, which was begun ('tis said) by *Rayer*, one of this Kings Minstrells, but ended by some good and well disposed Citizens of *London*: This *Smithfield* was then a Place for the casting out of filth, where also Felons and other Transgressours were executed; and not put it seems to the use that now it is. Length of time commonly changes the use of Places, and some times for the better.

There are upon Record no less than Three *Councils, Synods* or *Convocations* of the Clergy, which were kept in this City in this Kings Reign, to reform the Church and Church-men, was the usuall Precedence; but it was commonly done in such away, that it tended mostly to the exalting of their own Power.

We read in *Stow* of a *Parliament of Prelates, Nobles and Commons*, Assembled by this *King* in the Sixteenth Year of his Reign, *Anno Christi 1116*. This *King* was the better beloved of the *Englishmen*.

men, for Marrying a Wife of the Old Saxon Line,  
 Edgar Atheling's Sisters Daughter, for using Ed-  
 ward the Confessors Laws with Amendment, at his  
 coming to the Crown, and making some good  
 ones of his own, for freeing the Church, Imprisoning  
 Ranulph, the covetous Bishop of Durnam (his  
 Brother William's Procurator, and Gatherer of his  
 Taxes) in the Tower of London; and also releasing  
 to Englishmen the Old Tax of Danegelt, lately re-  
 s of vived by his Father and Brother, and restoring  
 of to them the Use of Lights by Night; which, with  
 an-Fire, had been by his Father forbidden to be used  
 ous after the Ringing of the Curfew-Bell, at Eight of  
 well the Clock.

In the time of King Stephen, we meet with an e-  
 ingminent Instance of London's Strength. Mand, the  
 l inEmpress, the Late Kings only Surviving Heir, ha-  
 yer, ring upon the Fortune of a Baitail took and Im-  
 oodprisoned King Stephen, and being thereby much  
 ith-exalted in her mind, deeming her self sure of the  
 lth, Possession of the whole Realm, would not make  
 verany Grant to the Citizen's Requests: They there-  
 nowpon becoming discontented, designed to have  
 e seized on her Person. Whereof she having  
 arning, fled in haste for her own Safe guard to  
 oun-xford, and her People were divided and scatter-  
 vered; whereas, not long before, she was in a fair  
 ormpossibility of enjoying all that she claimed; King  
 Pre-Stephen's Queen promising upon his Delivery, that  
 way, should surrender the Land into her Possession,  
 ould become a Religious Man, or a Pilgrim, to his  
 ves end: Either of which, at that time, was a  
 No and of Spiritual Death, as to what concerned  
 the worldly Affairs. But her unfortunate disobliging  
 116 is City soon turned the Scales. The Queen's  
 lish strength encreases, Mand's diminishes; The King a  
 men

D

little

little after is delivered upon Exchange, and the Empress (at last) departs with a small Company and returns into *Normandy*, without obtaining her Desire. So considerable then was the City of *London*, as to be able to wrest the Power out of the Conquerors Hands, and return it back (at length) to the same Person, whom she had once overcome and held many Months Prisoner at her own Will and Pleasure.

That for which the *Citizens* of *London* made great Labour, was, that they might use the Law of *Edward the Confessor*, as they were granted by *William*, commonly called the *Conquerour*; and not the Laws of her Father, which were of more strictness. Here, in my Opinion, seems to be intimated, that this King *William* came not into the quiet Possession of the Realm so much by Conquest as on Conditions; accordingly here's mention made of one Grant.

The Occasion of *Stephen's* coming to the Crown contrary to his own former Oath sworn to King *Henry*, and in prejudice to *Maud's* Claim, is Recorded by one Author, to have been the Oath of one *Hugh Bigot*, sometime King *Henry's* Steward who swore, that the Late King, (in his presence) little before his Death, chose this *Stephen* for his Heir, by reason that he had received some discontent at his Daughters hands. Whereunto the *Londoners* giving easy Credence, admitted him King. The Favour of the *Londoners* did doubtless, at that time, conduce not a little to his advantage, in preferring him an able Man, before a weak Woman. For *Stow's* Annals inform us, That he was received by the *Londoners*, when he had been repulsed at other Places; certainly it redounded to his singular Benefit afterwards, as hath been related before.

Another Addition of Strength might be, his not imposing heavy Taxes upon the People; which, it may be, increased their Love to him, and made so many side with him: As indeed we find upon his first Admission, that he swore among other things, before the Lords at *Oxford*, to forgive his People the Tax of *Danegelt*. Neither do I read of any Taxes, that he raised upon the *Commons*: It is affirmed positively, in the *Collection of Wonders, and Remarkable Passages*, that he raised none; with which *Stow* likewise agrees. So that, a King's needless laying of many heavy and grievous Taxes upon his People, occasions him to lose much of their Love; and his forbearing it, when he hath Power in his hands, unites his Subjects Hearts the faster to him. But instead of Taxes, we read of this King's permission, given to his *Lords*, to build Castles or Fortresses upon their own Grounds: Many whereof we find pulled down in the next King's time, they having been the occasion of many Miseries in the Land, and the ready means to foment Civil Wars therein; which generally brings greater Damages to the *Commonalty*, than a few Impositions and Taxes can be presumed to do.

This King *Stephen* was twice Crowned; but for what cause, or for what intent, is not so easily known; whether it was, that he thought his Imprisonment had diminished somewhat of his Royalty, or else thinking by a second Coronation to exclude the Force of the Oath made at the first, I find not delivered. Certain it is, soon after my Author tells of his taking away a Castle from the Earl of *Chester*, who before had appeared against him on *Maud's* side, with a very considerable Strength; but had been afterwards reconciled to the King. But what is much more considerable, we read not

long after of the *King's* new danger, and ill Success, and of his Party being weaken'd particularly by the loss of *London*. For *Duke Henry* (after *King*) coming into *England* with a great Army, after some small Success, gets up to *London*, and wins the *Tower*, as much by Policy, and fair Promises, (saith my Author) as by Strength. Then he had Opportunity enough to caress the *Citizens*, being so near them; and it may be, he got not the *Tower* without their Consent, if not by their Assistance. Hereby we find, that he retrieved what his Mother's Haughtiness before had lost; and so having got the City's Affection and Power, he was in a fair way to obtain his Desires, as he did not long after. For we quickly read of *Mediators* and *Treaties* of Peace between these two *Competitors*; which took Effect at last, though the Interest and Policy of some hindered it for a time. In Conclusion, the *King* was fain to consent to the adopting the *Duke* his Heir, so that he might Reign during his Life. Which justly to perform, the *King* being sworn, with his Lords Spiritual and Temporal; in the next place, we hear of their riding up to *London*; as if to bind the bargain, it was requisite to ask the consent of that Honourable City, whose Favour seems to have been of so great weight in those unsettled Times, as to turn the Scales twice; once in the *King's* behalf, and erewhile on the *Duke's*. Such was their Influence, such their Power, as to pull down and set up, in a manner, whom the *Citizens* pleased.

Happy was this Agreement to the Land by settling peace therein; as beneficial likewise was it to the *Duke*, it being a fair Step to the Throne; whereon we find him mounted within a little time. For not long after this Accord, we hear of the

*King*

*King's Death*: Whether the Troubles of his Mind, or Diseases of his Body brought him to his End, vexation for the disappointment of his Designs, in being (after a sort) compelled to adopt his Competitor (his Enemy) for his Son and Heir, or Grief for the loss of *London's* Favour, which helped to effect so great a Turn in his Affairs, I shall not determine. It might be one, it might be the other, or neither, or all conjoyned, that became the occasional Causes (so to phrase it) of his Death. I like not to be very positive, where I am not very certain.

*Stephen's* Death making thus way for *Henry* to ascend the *English* Throne, he became one of the greatest *Kings* that ever ruled this Land, for the Largeness and Extent of his Territories, if we reckon the Inheritance he enjoyed from his Father, the Land he held by the Title of his Mother, the Dowry he had with his Wife, and what he obtained by the Success of his Arms: Yet, notwithstanding all this, he lived not free from Troubles, and intestine Broils, which sprung much out of his own Bowels: So that the Glory of his Youth began somewhat to be eclipsed by the Misfortunes of his elder Years. He Crowned his eldest Son living *King*, sometime before the middle of his reign; to the end (as one Author affirms) that he might have full Power and Authority to rule this Land and People, while his Father was busied in other Countrys, where some of his Lands lay. This might be one Reason; but the *King* (having learnt by experience, to his Mother's Loss, and his own cost, how easy it was for *Stephen* to attempt, and gain the Crown, being present on the Spot, while the right Heir was far distant in the vacancy of the throne) may be supposed in his intent, to have

D 3

designed

designed the hinderance of such an Intrusion for the future, by Crowning the next Heir *King*, while he himself lived.

I read, that *Stephen* had some such design to have Crowned his Son *King* in his own days, (as he declared at a *Parliament* called at *London*, *An. Reg.* 17) to have fixt the Crown the surer to his Posterity. But the *Bishops* refused the Deed: Which I do not find they did so much out of Conscience, or in Favour to *Mund's* Title, as by the Command (forth) of the *Pope*; who, in those days, was very apt to be clapping his Fingers into almost every ones Pye, where he thought any good picking might be had.

This *King Henry* got but little by Crowning his Son in his Life-time, besides Troubles, Crosses and Vexation of Spirit. For upon one Occasion or other, we find his Sons oft thwarting him, and some times warring upon him.

Famous were those days, for the Contest between the *King*, and *Thomas Becket*; which brought *Becket* to his end, and the *King* to a severe Penance at the last; though he disowned the Fact, and is not plainly proved to have given any other consent to it, unless what may be deduced from a few angry Words uttered in his Passion. The ground and occasion of this Dissention between the *King*, and the *Arch-Bishop*, is declared by the *Chronicle*, to have sprung from diverse *Acts* and *Ordinances* which the *King* had procured, at his *Parliament* at *Northampton*, to pass against the Liberties of the Church; which thereupon this lofty *Prelate* withstood. The *Papish Clergy* being then grown to the height, that crowned Heads were in a manner compelled for their own Security to veil Bonnet on them; and scarce durst so far presume, as but  
endeavoured

endeavour to cross their Ambitious Designs : They could be content by their *Canons*, and *Conncels*, to encroach upon the *Laitty*, as they termed them ; but they, (poor Men) by the *Clergy's* good Will, must not be allowed to vindicate their *Own* Native Liberty from the *Others* unjust Usurpations.

This King *Henry* is said to have been Peerless in Chivalry, in War, and in Leachery. This last is sufficiently notorious, in his Love to the Fair *Rosamond*, and further manifested in his deslowring (as we read) his Son *Richard's* intended Wife, the *French King's* Daughter ; whom we are also told he would have Married, could he have obtained a Divorce from his *Queen* : And this he intended, 'tis said, to have the more favour of the *Frenchmen*, by their Aid the better to disinherite his Sons ; who, among other things done to his Displeasure, had warred upon him in Vindication of their abused and slighted *Mother*.

Three several Warnings I read of, that he had to amend his Life ; but to little or no purpose. Some of his Patience (or else fear of the *Imperious Clergy*) we find in his forbearance, shewed to *Heraclius*, Patriarch of *Jerusalem* ; who, upon the *King's* Refusal to go into the *Holy Land*, being discontented, sharply rebuked him, reflecting on him for the Death (or Martyrdom, as those Times were pleased to term it) of *Thomas Becket* ; and upon *Henry's* further excusing the Voyage for fear of his Son's Rebellion in his Absence, departed in great ire, with these words in his Mouth ; saying, *That it was no wonder ; for of the Devil they come, and to the Devil they shall.*----Part of his Devotion we meet with in that Shift. he found out to fulfil the Condition of building three *Abbies* in *England*, enjoyned him by the *Pope* in the Dispensation granted him,



for the Voyage he had before solemnly vowed to take into the *Holy Land* in Person. Such was much of the Religion then of those Times, either to build *Abbeys*, *Monasteries*, and the like, (so many *Ecclesiastical Castles*, or *Fortresses*, as it were, ready manned and victualled at the *Pope's* Service) or else to take upon them the *Cross*, and away to the *Holy War*, as fast as they could, to fight for *Christ's* *Spilcher*, as went the cry, *Anglice*, to subdue more Land to the *Pope's* Obedience. A cunning crafty trick of the *Pope's*, to send away packing such Princes, whose Power they feared would grow too great at home, that they might in the meantime domineer over their Subjects Purfes and Consciences, and the better advance their own Worldly Pomp and Grandeur in their Absence. For I read not of any of the *Pope's*, who went themselves in Persons: They, forsooth, could not be spared from their Charge, *alias*, their Preferment; nor be absent from home, out of care to the Feeding of their Flock, *i. e.* looking to their own Gain. So that the sending Men (while in their Bodies) to the *Holy Land*, was almost as beneficial a Project, as long as it lasted, as the preference of *Fetching* their Souls out of *Purgatory* after their Death, for a round Sum of Money, and a set of *Masses*.

The Trick King *Henry* (almost as Cunning, though not as Fortunate, as these subtle *Priests*) found out to fulfil the Condition enjoyned, and which he put in Execution, was, *First*, Putting *Secular Cannons* out of *Waltham-House*, and letting *Cannons Regular* in their stead. *Secondly*, His thrusting the *Monks* out of *Amesbury-House*, and placing there another sort of *Religious Persons*, which he had brought from beyond the Sea. And for the *Third*, His courisly renewing the *Charter-*

*Hist*

ed to *House of Witham*, beside *Salisbury*.

The King having had so large Tryall, and so much Knowledge of the *City of London's* Power, did not very much ( I suppose, at any time ) disoblige the *Citizens*; Especially having such powerfull Enemies to deal with as the King of *France* abroad, and at home the insulting, incroaching *Clergy*, and his own unnaturall refractory Sons; though one saith, that he nourished Strife among t his Children with all Diligence, hoping thereby to live himself in the more rest. But it seems, that device avail'd him but little.

As we have but little reason to think, that the *City of London* lost ground in *Henry's* days; so under his Son and Successour King *Richard*, we find that Foundation laid, where upon was after erected that Famous and Free Way of Electing it's own yearly Governours; wherein she now glories. Like as *William the First* gave the *Citizens* their First Charter; so this Noble *Richard* [*Cuer de Lyon*] was the King, that ordain'd *London* to be rul'd by Two *Bailiffs* whose Names were *Henry of Cornhil*, and *Richard Fitz Ryver*; as *Fabian* tells us in that worthy *Chronicle*, which he compiled of the *English* and *French* Nation. This *Fabian*, being *Sherif* of this *City* in *Henry the Seventh's* Days, by that advantage may be presumed to have best known the Affairs of the *City*; and seeming to write with a great deal of Integrity, in this Relation I chiefly follow him, and so intend as far as he reaches; especially when I shall have occasion to Name any of the *Bayliffs*, *Mayors*, or *Sheriffs*; through whose yearly Government, in his Second Volume, he deduces the History in form of *Annals*, down to the beginning of King *Henry the Eighth's* Reign. In the *Prol que* to this *Second Part*, he tells us,

us, That the *City* was antiently under the Rule of *Portgrievés*; which word *Portgrieve* signifies in *Saxon*, the *Guardian, Ruler, or Keeper of a Town*. The Book called *Doomsday*, wherein were registred in *Saxon* the Laws and Customs then used, being lost, he acquaints us also, that the Remembrance of those Rulers, before this *Richard's* Days, was lost and forgotten. In the same *Prologue* likewise he hath left us a Copy of Verses, written in praise of the *City*; wherein we are told, That this *City* was never cast down, as other Famous Ones have been; that herein Divine Service was always continued in Religious Houses, in such an Order, that when one had done, another began; and that it was famed also for the *Mayor* and *Sheriffs* Noble House-keeping; with much more; which any one that please may peruse at his leasure, in the forecited Place.

We likewise find there declared the several Wards of the *City*, as they stood in *Fabian's* Time, together with the Parish-Churches, and other Religious Houses, within and without, summed up to the Number of One Hundred Sixty Eight:

This King *Richard* (in the Beginning of whose Reign we first hear of the Name of *Bailiffs* given to the *Rulers of London*) having taken a Voyage into the *Holy-Land*, according to the Religion of those Times, and done his Devoir for the Recovery of it, according to his Strength; the *Clergymen* had reason to esteem well of him; to humour whose designs he had undertaken so chargeable an Enterprize: So accordingly we find, that the *Ecclesiasticks* stuck as close to him, as any of his Subjects in his Adversity. For in his Return from the *Holy War* (as 'twas term'd) *Richard* being Shipwrack't, took and imprison'd by the Duke of *An*

*strich*

*Bria*, and long detain'd by the *Emperour*, he was compell'd to redeem himself, after a Year and three Month's Imprisonment, at a large Ransom: An hundred thousand Pounds were either presently paid, or good Pledges left behind him to ascertain the full and true Payment. A vast Sum in those days, when *Wheat* was esteem'd at a high Price, being sold at fifteen Shillings the Quarter; as we find it in the fifth Year of King *John's* Reign, about half a dozen Years after. So that, for this Ransom, were sold the Ornaments of the *Church*, *Prelate's* Rings and Crosses, with the Vessels and *Chalices* of the *Churches*, throughout the Land, Wool of *White Monks* and *Cannons*, and also twenty seven Shrines scrap't and spoil'd of the Gold and Silver laid on them in former Times: No Priviledge of *Church* then regarded, no Person spar'd. A costly Voyage indeed it prov'd to the Land, undertaken to satisfy the *Clergy-men's* Ambition; and therefore they might well be content to bear much of the Charges, and use their utmost Endeavours in the Imprison'd *King's* Vindication. And so the *Pope* did, as far as Curses would go; to which was imputed those Mischiefs, that besel the Duke of *Austria* and his Country a little after, as the Effects of the *Pope's* Indignation.

The Power, and Esteem of this *City's* Favour, in those Times of the *King's* Captivity, we need but remark out of *Neubrigensis*; who acquaints us, That when the *Chancellor*, being then *Bishop* of *Ely*, and Governour of the Land, dreaded the Force of the opposite Lords, who strove to suppress him for his Insolency, and ill Government, he retir'd to *London*; and humbly intreated the *Citizens*, not to be wanting to him in that point of time: But they being not unmindful of his former Behaviour,

haviour, rather favour'd the other Party; where upon the proud haughty *Prelate* was compell'd to resign his Office, which he had so ill manag'd, and depart, to the no small Benefit to the Land in those troublesome Times.

At *London* likewise was it, that the *Lords* consulted together, for the ordering the Land in the *King's* Absence; which, after the late ill Government had been discarded, and after an Oath of Fidelity to the absent *Prince*, was put into another's Hands.

When King *Richard* was delivered; as soon as he landed at *Sandwich*, we find him coming straightway to *London*, as the fittest Place (it seems) to receive him, and assist him. So accordingly we read of his Reception there, with all Joy and Honour, in so splendid a Pomp, that the *German* Nobles (present) beholding it, affirm'd, That if the *Emperour* had known of such R'cles in *England*, he would not have dismiss'd the Ransom'd *King* under an Intolerable Price.

A little after, we hear of his riding thence with a convenient strength, to recover the Places that stood out against him.

After this, by a Council of Lords call'd at *Winchester*, having deprived his Brother *John* of his Honours and Lands, for his Rebellion, he took care to have himself crown'd *King of England* anew. As if the Force of his former Coronation was impaired by his Imprisonment; or else he thought, by this politick Shift, to take off all Obligations, that might haply lie on him, for any thing done before. As indeed we quickly after read of a Resumption of all Patents, Annuities, Fees, and other Grants made before his Voyage: But then it's affirmed to be done by the Authority of a *Parliament*, call'd after his Coronation.

After

After these Passages, two *State-Informers* are  
 noted to have risen up, promising the *King* great  
 Matters; the Scenes of whose chief Acts were  
 either laid, or to have been laid at *London*. One  
 of them, the *Abbot of Cadonexe*, warning the *King*  
 of the Fraud of his Officers, by vertue of a War-  
 rant from him, called divers Officers before him  
 at *London*, to yield to him their Accounts. This  
 Place was made choice of by him, as the fittest (it  
 seems) wherein to ingratiate himself with the com-  
 mon People by so plausible an Act, as bringing of-  
 fending Officers to condigne Punishment. But  
 Death soon cut him off, and so put an end to all  
 his Designs. The other *Informer*, call'd *William*  
*with the Long Beard*, reported to be born in *Lon-*  
*don*, of a sharp Wit; having shew'd the *King* of  
 the Outrage of the Rich; who (as he said) in  
 publick Payments, spar'd their own, and piled the  
 Poor; and being upheld by him, became the Pa-  
 tron and Defender of poor Men's Causes; and stir-  
 red up the common People to a desire and love of  
*Freedom* and *Liberty*, by blaming Rich Men's Ex-  
 cess and Insolence. Hereupon he was followed  
 with such numbers of People, that being called  
 before the *King's* Council upon suspicion of a  
 Conspiracy, the Lords were fain with good words  
 to dismiss him for the present, for fear of the  
 Multitude attending him; and commanded cer-  
 tain to seize on him, in the Absence of his nume-  
 rous Abettors. But those thus commanded, mi-  
 staking the time, and so failing in their intended  
 Design, he escaped, and took Sanctuary in *St. Ma-*  
*ry Bow Church*; where his Strength quickly grew  
 so great by the Access of the Multitude, that he  
 was not easily taken hold of, nor without shedding  
 of Blood. However, being at last taken, after that  
 the

the Heads and Rulers of the *City* had diminish'd the People, he, with other his Adherents, was arraign'd before the Judges, cast, condemn'd, and hang'd very shortly after; even the following day saith the *Chronicle*: so desirous were the rich and great Men to have him out of the way, as soon as they could. But as his Plea of *Freedom* was acceptable to the *Commons* in his Life-time, though he became a Terror to the Great; so, after his Death, he ceased not for a while to be a Dread to many; by reason of a Rumour rais'd and bandied about among the *Commons*, of his Innocency and favourably received of the People, even to the approving of him as an holy Man and Martyr, and making Pilgrimages to the Place of his Execution to the no small trouble of those that had a hand in his Death. At last, the Flame of this Devotion was somewhat cool'd, by the Publishing some Acts of his, with other detestable Crimes laid to his Charge; whether true or false, let them look to it, who industriously spread them abroad. Yet it was not quite put out, till the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, (upon whom, among others, a great Crime was rais'd for procuring his Death) had accus'd the Priest, this *William's* Kinsman; who had openly divulg'd the Vertue the Chain (where with *William* was bound in the time of his Imprisonment) had upon a Man sick of the Feaver.

This Instance sufficiently proves, that the name of *Liberty* sounds sweet; and that such as promise to procure it, shall have Admirers and Followers enough: But that also the Favour of the Multitude is deceitful; and for a Man to put his Fat to the People, many times is the occasion of losing his Head, is evidently manifested by the very same Example. How small an Occasion is

that sometimes raises a Man's Fame? Yet you here find as petty small Matters soon likewise depress it. That is no lasting Name, that depends meerly upon Vulgar Breath. To *Defend the Poor and Needy, and protect the Oppressed*, is a plausible Plea. Yet it shall go hard, but the Rich Oppressor will find one way or other, to ruine that Man in his Goods, and good Name, if not as to his Life, who undertakes so noble a Defence.

As this King *Richard* (under whose Reign these two *Informers* rose up) was Couragious and Valiant in his Life; so, a little before his Death, an Act of his Magnanimity and Christian Forbearance was shewed by him, in his freely forgiving and remitting the Person, then in his Power, that occasioned his Death; after that he heard from the other's Confession, that in that Deed he intended to avenge the Death of his Father and Brethren, before slain by the *King*. But yet the Man escaped not with his Life, though forgiven by King *Richard*; if that be true, which is said of the Duke of *Brabant*, that he after caused him to be taken, slead quick, and hanged.

After *Richard's* Decease, his Brother *John* (being then in *Normandy*) seizes upon his Treasure; and, not long after, procures himself to be crown'd King at *Westminster*, though in prejudice to the Title of an Elder Brother's Son: Where to his Mother *Eleanor* is thought to have contributed not a little; being possibly desirous rather to set the Crown upon her Son's Head, under whom she might hope to have a greater Share in the Government, than she could reasonably expect under her Grand-child, then within Age, where her Daughter-in-law, the other's Mother, was likely to bear the greatest sway. So that the ambitious Desire  
of



of Rule is not incident only to Men; but invades even the Hearts of the Female Sex. Here the Mother's Ambition raises up her Younger Son, even to the Prejudice of her Eldest Son's Heir.

Though *Women* be born subject to *Men*, yet it is in a manner connatural to them, to desire the Power of commanding them at their own will and pleasure. Shew me the Land, where the *Scepter* hath not often bowed to the *Distaff*; and the *Prince's Power*, together with his heart, been subject to capricious *Womans Humour*. When they creep into Mens Hearts, and lye in their Bosoms, it is no wonder, that they dive into their *Secrets*, and sway their *Councils*. So that the Affairs of the State often turn upon the Hinges of an *Imperious Woman's Will*. Under even the most Absolute *Despotical Government* of the *Turks*, the *Ottoman Power* many times lies in a *Womans Breast*; and the *Sultana* do not seldome over-rule the Consults of the *Divan*. Of which, let the Ambitious *Roxolana*, sometime Empress to *Solyman* the Magnificent, suffice for an Instance.

But what need we go so far, when as nearer home our own Ears, if not our Eyes, may serve for Witnesses of this Truth? Yet, to the Glory of *England* be it spoken, this Land flourished in such Peace and Prosperity, even to a Miracle, under *Queen Elizabeth*; and the Tranquility of her Reign hath so Honourably Consecrated her Memory in *Fame's Temple*, that few of our *English Monarchs* ever equal'd her; none (that I know) of all those who went off the Throne, surpassed her. The Happiness indeed of her *Reign*, may possibly be imputed much to the Wisdom of her *Conduct*, in suffering the Affairs of the Nation to be guided by the Councils of Men: Whereas, under some of our

*Kings*

*Kings*, our Governours have had such a deal of Chamber-practice, that the State hath been much at the Guidance of Women, or else of such Effeminate Persons, as were quite degenerated from the Spirits, and Courage of their Ancestors; as who, by their Immoralities, Luxury, and Debaucheries, had little left in them of *Heroick* and *Masculine*, and were scarce fit for any thing else, but to be dub'd *Knights of the Carpet*.

But what ever was the Title and Means, we and *John* got into the Throne; and, by the aid we obtained of his *Lords* and *Commons*, before the End of the Year, to recover what was lost in *Normandy*; we may conclude, it was not without their Consents. From *Stow's* Relation, 'tis plain enough, that he was Elected at *London*; after that *Hubert*, Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, had made a Speech to that purport, in the Presence of the *Bishops*, *Earls*, *Barons* and Others. They, may be, preferring him, a Man of Courage and Spirit, and so fitter to rule and govern the Realm, before the Title of young *Arthur*, then his Non-age, though of the Elder House.

For seldom 'tis, that unusual Changes happen, without some previous Preparatives to make way for them. And if a Nation hath once fixt upon a Rule to guide the Succession, they do not presently vary from it, but upon urgent Occasion. So find we in Kingdoms, meerly and properly Elective; they commonly chuse the next Heir of the Blood, unless upon the Interposition of some notable Impediment.

In *Sweden*, that War-like Nation, amidst the greatest Success of their Arms, submitted themselves to *Gustavus Adolphus's* Heir, though a Child, and of the Female Sex; and when she grew up to

E

Womans

Womans Estate, they would willingly have continued her their *Queen*, would she but have Married according to their Desires.

When that great Change happened in *Denmark* of late Years, which turned it from an *Elective* to an *Hereditary Kingdom*, we may have heard, it was effected by the Policy of the present King, who made use of the Distractions of the Nation, then almost conquered by the *Sweeds*; and that Scarcely of Fame he had got, by defending his *Capital City* against their furious Assaults, to encline the petty Remainder of his Subjects, to give way to such an universal Change in the Constitution of their *Government*. So that, whatever *Towns* or *Cities* were afterwards reduced; they must be content to yield to the new-made Law, as the established Decree of the Nation. A hard thing it might possibly appear to such, who had no hand in the making of that Ordinance, and (it may be) would not very readily have given their Consent thereunto: And yet it might have seemed as hard to them, to have remained under the *Sweeds*, when they had but little hopes of having much Share in the *Government*, or be lookt upon, and dealt with otherwise than as a *Conquer'd People*. The Fame, may be, of this succeeding Policy of the *Danish King*, with the Excitation of some of the Boutifera of *Europe*, may be supposed to have put some thoughts of the like Nature, into the *Polish King's* Head; if all be true that hath been reported, of the Sloth and Negligence laid to his Charge, by the Senator of the Land, of his Backwardness to call a *General Diet* of the Nation; and of the Purport of a Speech made to him once within these few Years by an Ambassador from out of these Parts of *Europe*. Hence likewise may have proceeded the Fears and Jealousies

jealousies of the *Sweeds*, hinted to us in *Forreign News*, lest their *King*, by his Neighbours Example, should be encouraged to attempt the like: Which seems since to have been very much legitimated, by the Alteration lately made in the *Senate* of that Kingdom, if our *Modern Intelligencers* have given us a true Account and Relation of that Affairs.

After that *Elective Princes* have thus obtained to be made *Hereditary Monarchs*; one of their next desires is, to render themselves *Absolute* in their Government: Wherein they may have received no small Encouragement from the Successful Attempts of some such *Tyrannical Invader* of other *Mens Rights*, as the present *Hector of France*: And no little Help, in the neat way of subduing and inflaming their own Country, they may have learnt from some such contriving Pate, as was one of the *Catholick Kings* of *Spain*; who with an Army out of one of his Kingdoms, subverted the *Liberty* of another. So ambitious are some Men of the so much envied Honour, of ceasing to be *Kings* of Men, and becoming *Tryants* over Slaves at their Pleasure.

With some such kind of Disease, do we find *King John* also to have been infected in his time: But a *Chargeable Disease* you may well call it, which cost him the Loss of much of his *Territories* abroad, the Hearts of many of his *Subjects* (among both the *Spiritualty* and *Temporalty*) at home, and his *Peace* and *Tranquility* within, together with a free *Imperial Crown*, and all the Regalities attending it; and yet he dyed at last, without obtaining his so much desired Remedy, as I doubt not to make sufficiently Evident in the following *Relation*.

In the Second Year of this *King John*, by Counsel of the *Burgeses* of the *City of London*, Thirty five of the most substantial and wisest Men are Re-

corded to have been chosen, and (after some) called the *Council of the City*; of which yearly were Elected the *Bayliffs*, as long as they lasted; and after them the *Mayor* and *Sheriffs*: Which names we meet with, in few Years after. For about the latter end of this *King's* Nineth Year, we read of a Grant made to the *Citizens*, and confirmed by the *King's* Letters Patents; whereby they had Power to chuse Yearly a *Mayor*, and *Two Sheriffs*. The First *Mayor* upon Record, is *Henry Fitz Almaric*, sworn and charged upon *Michaelmas-day*, in the Tenth Year of this *King*, *Anno Christi* 1210. who continued several Years *Mayor*: The *Sheriffs* were *Peter Duke*, and *Thomas Neel*, sworn the same time. And the former Name and Rule of *Bayliffs* clearly discharged. St. *Matthew's* Day, Nine Days before *Michaelmas*, was the time the *Citizens* then allowed for their *Sheriffs* Election; and on *Michaelmas* day, was the *Mayor* Ordained, by the like Order to be chosen, and charged then with the other officers, though now this in part is altered.

This same Year is likewise noted in *Fabian*, as for the altering of the *Rulers of the City* from *Bayliffs* to a *Mayor* and *Sheriffs*; so also for the changing of the *Bridge* from *Timber* to *Stone*; which was perfected about this time, by the Aid of the *Citizens* and *Passengers*; it having been Thirty Years in building, according to *Stow*; who places the Beginning hercof, as high as *Henry the Second's* days. So that, thence forward we may expect to find the Power of the *City*, and its Glory more and more encreasing every Age.

That the Government of the *City* should be changed at the Request of the *Citizens*, and in favour of them fixt as they would have it, argues that their *Strength* then was thought considerable, & their *Power*

fluent

fluence upon the rest of the Nation esteemed not to  
 be small. For at this time was *K. John* over-pressed by  
 the *Pope* and his *Clergy*, and reduced to so low an Ebb  
 of Fortune, that but few Years passed, before he  
 was fain to buy his Peace at no less a price than the  
 designation of his Crown. And therefore, in the  
 midst of his distress, by these Acts of Favour, he  
 may be thought to endeavour to fix the *City* to his  
 Interest, as hoping thereby to oblige the *Citizens*  
 to appear in his behalf, against the Pride of these  
 insulting *Priests*. An Argument, doubtless, of their  
 power, and the *King's* Esteem of it.

The Occasion of the difference between the *King*  
 and the *Pope*, (which brought such Woe to the  
*Island*, and Trouble to the *King*) was the displea-  
 sure he took against the *Monks* of *Canterbury*, for  
 electing one to the *Arch-Bishoprick*, contrary  
 to his Mind; together with his Refractoriness, in  
 not hearkning to the advice of his Lords and  
 friends, who would have had him have yielded to  
 the *Pope*, then too potent an Adversary safely to be  
 contested with. To which may be added, his con-  
 tinued Obstinacy, in not yielding to terms of Ac-  
 commodation and Accord; when as his Enemies  
 were more powerful, and his own Strength was  
 much weakened by the loss of *Normandy*. A sharp  
 correction it proved to the *King*, to have much of  
 his Territories abroad, his *Normans* antient Inhe-  
 rance, took from him by the War, which the  
*French King* made upon him, by the *Pope's* exciting,  
 (according to some Authors); to have his Land  
 and Himself accursed at home, his Lords absolved  
 from their Allegiance, that they might be enabled to  
 rise against him, and depose him; and he himself  
 (at last) compelled for his own security, to give a-  
 way his Crown and Dignity, and take it again of

the *Pope* at a certain Rent. As hard measure had the Kingdom, to have the Doors of *Churches* and other Places of Divine Service, shut up in *City* and *Country*, in *London*, and in the other Parts of the Land, that no Religious Worship might be used publicly; but the Dead must be buried like Dogs, in Ditches and Corners; No Sacraments administred; no Baptisms; no Marriages; or if there were in any Places, it must be by special Licence, purchased (it may be) at great rates; and all this, for the Offence of one Man; or a few, which most probably did neither consent to, nor could amend, without breaking former Laws and Oaths, and offending against the Principles of Honesty, and the *Christian Religion*. Suppose the *Head Shepherd* had offended; yet what had the *Sheep* done, to be used thus? Sare the *Pope* shewed himself hereby a *Lord of Lords*, though he pretends to call himself a *Servant of Servants*. From such proud haughty Servants, *Libera nos*. His *Popeship* would fain be esteemed a *Father of Christians*; but here he dealt very hardly with many of the *Sons of the Church*. A sad Case, indeed, were we (poor *Christians*) of the Common Herd in, should our Religion allow us at every turn to be sent to the *Devil* because the ambitious Pretences of our Governours would not suffer them to agree well together among themselves.

But we know already, or have heard of too much of these *Priest's Pride*, to think them the most humble, the most mortified Men in the World. The professed and avowed Principles of some of them tell us too too plainly, that they are not to take all they say to be either Law or Gospel: Neither do every one of their Actions oblige us always to think, that they believe them

themselves in all they affirm. They may indeed  
 sometimes tell a fair smooth Tale, when they  
 are got a little higher than their Neighbours,  
 into a place where they know they must not be  
 presently contradicted; but when they be come  
 down upon plain even Ground, we find them  
 (for the most part) much like other men: Nay  
 some of them (it may be) an Ace or two worse.  
 More Proud, more Ambitious, more Worldly,  
 more Covetous; in a word, more debauch'd in  
 Principles and Practises. I could quickly name  
 (if I list) among us *Protestants*, of the *Reformed*  
*Religion*, of the *Church of England* (as some delight  
 to stile themselves) the Persons, the Time, and  
 the Place, the Diocess, the Shire, the Hundred,  
 the Parish, where lives a double Benefic'd-man  
 (so strong an *English* Church-man in Word and  
 Deed, as not justly to be taxed with the impu-  
 tation of a *Phanatick*, by such as know the man-  
 ner of his Converse) who was not many years  
 since depriv'd both of Office and Benefice, for  
 none of the greatest Faults that ever was. Surely  
 the Parish, where the Offence was not comitted,  
 deserved not so ill at the Reverend *Bishop's* Hands;  
 as to be deprived of the Use and Benefit of their  
*Pastor*. Neither know I wherein the harmeles  
 Parishoners of the other Place had so highly offend-  
 ed, as to merit the loss of their Head Shepherd's  
 over-sight; unless we must fancy them accessory  
 to his Young *Curate's* indiscretion, in not bowing  
 low enough at the Church door, to a stately Dame  
 of the Parish: So, if my Memory deceive me not,  
 have I some where read it observ'd, and it seems  
 also verified in the History, that though the Name  
 of *King's* was thrown quite out of *Rome*, yet the  
 Power some industriously strove still to retain.



The Conditions, where on King *John* was concil'd to the *Pope*, were to this purport, That he should admit the *Arch-Bishop* to his See, peaceably to enjoy the Profits and Fruits thereof; permit the *Prior*, his *Monks*, and Others, before exil'd for the *Arch-Bishop's* Cause, to re-enter the Land, without trouble, or future Molestation together with Restitution to them to be made of all Goods taken from them by his Officers, in the time of this variance: And that he should likewise yield up into the *Pope's* Hands all his Right and Title to the Crown of *England*; with all Revenues, Honours, and Profits belonging to the same as well Temporal as Spiritual, to hold it ever after, both He and his Heirs, from the *Pope*, and his Successors, as the *Pope's* Feodaries.

These Articles thus granted, and the Lord sworn to maintain them, the King upon his bended Knees, taking the Crown from his Head, delivered it to the *Pope's* Legate, resigning it into the *Pope's* hands, both in Word and Deed; and after five days resumed it of the same Hands, by Virtue of a Bond or Instrument made unto the *Pope*; which I have here transcribed out of *Mathew of Paris* History; that such as care not what Religion gets uppermost in the Land, may know what they are to expect, if *Popery* should once get such a head, as to come in again.

Johanne

**J**ohannes Dei Gratia Rex An-  
 gliæ, &c. Omnibus Christi fi-  
 delibus, hanc Chartam inspectu-  
 ris, salutem in Domino. Universita-  
 ti Vestræ per hanc Chartam sigillo  
 nostro Munitam Volumus esse notum,  
 quod cum Deum & Matrem No-  
 stram Sanctam Ecclesiam Offenderi-  
 mus in multis, & proinde Divina  
 Misericordia plurimum indigeamus,  
 nec quid digne offerre possimus pro sa-  
 tisfactione Deo & Ecclesiæ debita  
 facienda, nisi nosmet ipsos humiliemus  
 et regna nostra: Volentes nos ipsos hu-  
 miliare pro illo qui se pro nobis humili-  
 avit usque ad Mortem, Gratia Sancti  
 Spiritus inspirante, non vi interdicti,  
 nec timore coacti, sed nostra bona spor-  
 tanea; Voluntate ac communi Conci-  
 lio Baronum Nostrorum Conferimus,  
 &

& libere concedimus Deo & Sanctis  
 Apostolis ejus Petro & Paulo &  
 Sanctæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ Matro-  
 næ Nostræ, ac Domino Papæ Inno-  
 centio, ejusque Catholicis successoribus,  
 totum Regnum Angliæ, & to-  
 tum Regnum Hiberniæ, cum omni  
 Jure & pertinentijs suis, pro Remis-  
 sione Omnium Peccatorum Nostro-  
 rum, & totius Generis Humani, tam  
 pro vivis quam pro defunctis, &  
 modo illa ab eo & Ecclesiæ Romanæ  
 na, tanquam secundarius recipientes  
 & tenentes, in præsentia Prudentis  
 Viri Pandulphi Domini Papæ Sub-  
 diaconi et Familiaris. Exinde prædicti  
 Domino Papæ Innocentio, ejusq; Ca-  
 tholicis successoribus & Ecclesiæ Ro-  
 manæ, secundum subscriptam formam  
 fecimus & juravimus, & homagium

um ligium in præsentia Pandulphi,  
 si coram Domino Papa esse poterimus,  
 eidem faciemus; Successores nostros  
 et Hæredes de Uxore nostra in per-  
 petuum obligantes, ut simili modo  
 summo Pontifici qui pro tempore fu-  
 erit, & Ecclesiæ Romanæ, sine  
 contradictione debeant fidelitatem præ-  
 stare, & homagium recognoscere.  
 Ad indicium autem hujus nostræ per-  
 petuæ Obligationis & concessionis,  
 Volumus et Stabilimus, ut de proprijs  
 et specialibus redditibus nostris præ-  
 dictorum regnorum, pro omni servitio  
 et consuetudine, quæ pro ipsis facere  
 debemus, salvis per omnia Denarijs  
 Beati Petri, Ecclesia Romana mil-  
 le marcas Esterlingorum percipiat an-  
 nuatim: in festo scilicet Sancti Mi-  
 chaelis quingentas Marcas, et in  
 Pascha

*Pascha quingentas. Septingentas scilicet pro Regno Angliæ, et trecentas pro Regno Hiberniæ: Salvis nobis et Hæredibus nostris justitijs, Libertatibus, et Regalibus nostris. Quæ omnia, sicut supra scripta sunt, rata esse volentes atque firma, obligamus nos et successores nostros contra non venire: et si nos vel aliquis successorum Nostrorum contra hæc attentare præsumpserit, quicumque ille fuerit, nisi rite commonitus resipuerit cadat a jure Regni. Et hæc charta Obligationis et concessionis nostræ semper firma permaneat. Teste meipso apud domum Militum Templi juxta Deveram, coram H. Dublinensi Archiepiscopo, Johanne Norwicensi Episcopo, Galfrido filio Petri, W. Comite Sarisberie, Willielmo Comite Pembroc.*

*Pembroc. R. Comite Bononia, W.  
Comite Warenne, S. Comite Winton.  
W. Comite Arundel, W. Comite de  
Ferraijs, W. Brimere, Petro filio He-  
reberti, Warino filio Geroldi, xv. die  
Maij, An. Regni nostri decimo quarto.*

---

*In English thus :*

**J**OHN by the Grace of God King  
of *England, &c.* to the Faith-  
ful in *Christ*, that shall see this Pa-  
per, greeting. To you all We  
would it should be known by  
this Paper seal'd with Our Seal,  
That since We have offended *God*  
and our *Mother the Holy Church* in  
many things, and therefore stand  
in very great need of the *Divine*  
*Mercy*, and are not able to offer  
any due satisfaction to *God* and  
the *Church*, unless We humble  
Our Selves and Our Kingdoms :  
Being willing to humble Our  
Selves

Selves for *His* sake, who humbled  
*Himself* even unto *Death* for us  
 through the Grace of the *Holy Spirit*  
 inspiring Us, not by force of  
 the Interdict, nor compelled by  
 Fear, but of Our Own good and  
 free Will, and by the common  
 Counsel of Our Lords We give  
 and freely yield to *God* and to his  
 Holy Apostles *Peter* and *Paul* and  
 to Our Antient Mother the Holy Ro-  
 man Church, and to Our Lord Pope  
*Innocent*, and to his Catholick Success-  
 sors, the whole Kingdom of Eng-  
 land, and the whole Kingdom of  
 Ireland, with all Right and Ap-  
 purtenances thereto belonging  
 for the Remission of all Our sins  
 and the sins of all Mankind, as  
 well for the Living as for the  
 Dead, and from henceforth from  
 him and the Roman Church as a Fe-  
 odary receiving and holding  
 them, in the Presence of the Wise  
*Pandulphus* Subdeacon and Servant

of our Lord the *Pope*. From hence-  
 forth to the aforementioned Lord *Pope*  
*Innocent*, and to his *Catholick Successors* and to the *Church of Rome*, ac-  
 cording to this Written form, We  
 have made and i sworn *Leidge Ho-*  
*mage* in the Presence of *Pandul-*  
*phus*; and if We could be before  
 Our Lord the *Pope*, We would do  
 it to him: Binding Our *Successors*  
 and *Heirs* by our *Wife* for ever,  
 that in like manner to the *Pope*  
 for the time being, and to the  
*Roman Church*, they perform *Feal-*  
*ty* without contradiction, and ac-  
 knowledg *Homage*. Moreover in to-  
 ken of this Our perpetual Obliga-  
 tion and Grant We will and or-  
 dain, That out of Our proper and  
 special Revenues of the aforesaid  
 Kingdoms, in lieu of all *Service &*  
*Customs*, We ought to do for the  
 same, always excepting *Peterpence*,  
 if the *Church of Rome* receive Yearly a  
 thousand Marks *sterling: viz. At*  
*Michael-*



*Michaelmas* five hundred, and at  
*Easter* five hundred, that is seven  
 hundred for the Kingdom of *Eng-*  
*land*, and three hundred for the  
 Kingdom of *Ireland*: saving to Us  
 and our Heirs our *Justice*, *Liberties*  
 and *Royalties*. All which, as above  
 written, willing to have ratified  
 and confirmed, We bind Us and  
 our *Succeffors* not to do contrary.  
 And if We or any of Our *Succeffors*  
 shall presume to attempt ought a-  
 gainst theſe *Presents*, who ever he  
 be, unleſs being rightly admoniſh-  
 ed he repent, he ſhall loſe all *Right*  
 to the Kingdom. And let this  
*Charter* of Our *Obligation* and *Grant*  
 remain always firm.-----*Witness* Our  
 Self at the *House* of the *Knights-Templars*  
 near *Dover*, before H. *Arch-Biſhop* of *Dublin*,  
 John *Biſhop* of *Norwich*, Jeffery the Son of Pe-  
 ter, W. *Earl* of *Salisbury*, William *Earl* of  
*Pembrook*, R. *Earl* of *Bononia*, W. *Earl* of  
*Warrenne*, S. *Earl* of *Wincheſter*, W. *Earl* of  
*Arundel*, W. *Earl* *Ferrars*, W. *Briwere*, Peter  
 the Son of *Herebert*, Warine the Son of *Gerold*  
 on the Fifteenth Day of May, in the Fourteenth  
 Year of Our *Reign*.

And now ye Englishmen can ye be content to be  
 the Popes slaves? you here see their title, their claim,  
 what they pretend to; and if they can but once get  
 the upper hand, assure your selves they will quickly  
 take their title a foot. Nay, may not you find this  
 the ground-work of their last grand Plot, to de-  
 stroy our King, and subvert the Government, and  
 root out this Pestilent Heresie (as they are pleas'd to  
 term the Protestant Religion) out of this part of  
 the Northern world? Are you willing your Native  
 Country shall once again become the Popes Pack-  
 horse, to bear all the Burthens these unmerciful Ma-  
 ners shall think fit to lay on it? If you value not  
 your Christian Religion, have you so little esteem for  
 your Native Liberty, your English freedom, your  
 forthright, as to sell it to *Romes* Chapmen for a mels of  
 cottage, or barter it away to your fellow Citizens  
 for the husks they feed their Swine with? If your  
 Prince be once compell'd to become *Romes* Tributa-  
 ry, and here you see their Plea, you have little rea-  
 son to expect, that you shall continue any long time  
 free. Look upon your *French* Neighbours on the other  
 side of the Sea, and see how they groan under worse  
 than *Aegyptian* Bondage, enslav'd both in Bodies  
 and Souls? See how lowly the poor oppressed Com-  
 mons go in their wooden Shoes, and Canvass Breech-  
 es. How greedily they feed upon bare bread and  
 milk, and, amidst your present plenty, count how  
 many hungry meals they make upon that course  
 here, if you have figures enough in your Arithme-  
 tick to number them. Amidst the overflowing of  
 your Cups, think how often they drink plain water,  
 the small sowre verjuice of their water'd Grapes,  
 when the Kings Taxes have swept away 19 Hog-  
 heads of their Wine out of 20. To rise a little  
 higher, give me leave to tell you, what I have some-

F

time

time heard ; for here I profess to speak only upon  
 hear-say, having never made Tryal hereof in my own  
 particular, nor so much as desiring ocular demon-  
 stration, hoping that none shall ever live to see the  
*French* Fruits growing upon *English* ground, nor  
 of their seed sown on my Native soil to prosper.  
 out of the mouth of one, who liv'd amongst them  
 many years, I shall take leave to acquaint you, that  
 in the *French* Kings late Wars, the Taxes rose  
 high, that many would willingly have thrown  
 their estates into the Kings Hands, for the time  
 impositions were to last, but they were to be had  
 by the Kings Decree upon so doing : So that  
 must upon pain and perils of Death manage their  
 own Lands, and what the Product of their Ground  
 would not amount to, must be procured some other  
 way towards their appointed Payments. Whether  
 be easy to make brick without straw, judge ye.  
 you like to have a Vapouring Gentleman, or a hus-  
 Soldier with Pistols in his Saddle bow, come heigh-  
 ring up to your Plow-tails, and command  
 you to leave your work, and go along with him  
 to shew him on his way, where you  
 sometimes run along by his Horse side, two  
 three miles it may be, without a penny for your  
 pains, not so much as daring to shew any the least  
 ken of Regret, for fear of tasting the mercy of  
 of his Pistols. Will it please you do ye think, to  
 at home by turns every day one of you, to give  
 rections to every roaring swash Buckler, that  
 with Sword and Pistols when he comes furiously  
 to the Village, and calls as with Authority, for  
 Guide to run along with him at his pleasure, who  
 now some of you will scarce vouchsafe other than a  
 rough answer, or Awkward directions to the traveller  
 French

upranger, that civilly desires so small a thing at your hands: Now some of you will scarce shew any respect either to your equals or betters, but what would you think of it, to be made desist from your work, or shew obeysance, at two or three furlongs distance, to those Hectoring Blades of the Country that expect it should demand it at your hands? And yet some such things have I heard done. What a wonderous pleasuring spectacle would this be in *England*, where the meanest little values the threats and menaces of the greatest Gentleman, on whom they have no dependence for work or maintainance, or hopes to gain any thing by him?

From the poor enslaved Peasants of *France*, come you to the Gentry of the Land, and see how they creep, and cringe, and crouch to the Nobles, and how humbly these must also behave themselves towards their Arbitrary King. And the King himself, had not the success of his Arms rais'd him to a higher pitch than his Ancestors, must have vail'd to the tripple Crown, and have receiv'd the Popes more imperious Commands with a little more submission; would he have liv'd in security, then now we believe he does. How will you my dear Countrymen bring your selves to digest these compel'd humiliations? Would any of these servile slavish submissions go down well with your free hearts? Yet such, if not worse must you expect upon the introduction of Popery into the Land. Your Bodies, your Souls, your Estates, your Posterity, must then be subjected to Arbitrary Powers. Though the dregs of the Popes Sup may be possibly nauseous to some of your weakish stomachs, yet it may be many of you could be well enough contented with a refined *Cassandrian* Prophecy, the *German* Emperours *Interim*, or some such motley model of Religion, as the present *French* King

King had contriv'd ( as I have read ) to have introduced into his Realms, had his late Arms subdued the Refractory *Hollanders* ; Nay, for a good need the *Trent* Faith might have went down with some careless indifferents ; But what would you say to that more refin'd slavery also, which must in likelyhood follow your refin'd Popery ? How would you like to have your Priviledges, Properties, your free *English* Liberty, your lives, estates, and fortunes, and all that's near and dear unto you, to lie at other mens mercy, in the Power of such, whom you have little reason to esteeme your Friends, and all this and much more ( if more can be ) to be done by your own consents ? How well would this please you ? To have a *Paris* Parliament, *French* Councils, and a bigotted domineering Clergy, that shall preach you up slavery from the Pulpits, and make you to tast the sweets of it in their Courts. When you must always speak well of every other Fryar, be it only for fear ; And if you see Priests debauching your Wives or Daughters, you in distrust to your own Eye-sight, you must not openly profess to believe otherwise, than that they are blessing them, nor so much as dare to mutter between your teeth, unless you'll run the danger of being clapt up in the Inquisition for an Heretick, or be liable to the greetings of surly Mr. *Paritor*, summoning you to my Lord Bishops Court, for defaming the Clergy, and raising a scandal upon the Church. Now many of your Lands you hold for your own, don't you know that much must return back to the once destroy'd Covents, if Popery prevails, when you shall be taught to believe, that whatever is given to the Priests, the Church, is dedicated to God, and is not to be alienated without manifest sacrilege. How like ye from Freeholders to become Tenants to a Luxurious and lascivious multitude of Monks

Monks and Fryers, full fed upon the sweat of your labours, and good for little else but to diminish your Estates, and bastardise your Posterity?

Look into some of the Popish Collegiate Foundations, and see whether you cannot find a fixt set allowance appointed *ad Purgandos Renes*? So that Rentainers, Dependens, Brewers, Bakers, and such like, were bound (I have sometime heard) to send their Maids and Daughters at set times to Physick these lazy idle Drones. *Saturdays* once a month I have heard some nam'd, other days it's likely they could come fast enough home to their Houses. Many now adays have consciences large enough, to be dealing with other mens; but how would you bear it to see your own Wives, Daughters and Kinswomen wholly in the Devotion of the Pope's lustful unmarried Clergy? Their Auricular Confession is as neat a Device to command your Wives hearts, their Honesties, and your Purfes, as those Indian Priests the *Bramins* lying with the new married Bride the first night. How powerfully inclin'd the Popish Clergy are that way, you may learn from the *Danes* and *Swedes*, whose Magistrates have found Guelding (I have somewhere heard) a more effectual way, to keep them from coming to disturb their Country, than putting to death: and this is said to have been the Advice of a converted Nun. Such female Votaries being most likely able to know the Clergy's Constitution, their publick Houses being set so near together in Popish countries. In some places you may find the Religious Men and Women (as they call them) under the same Roof, to their frequent converse. Take your Kenning-glasses, and view some of the best spots of ground in this Land, and it's much if you do not find, that the Covents of Men had their Nunneries of Women situated near enough, to have mutual

tual converse one with another, by secret passages under the Earth. If you will not believe me, as writing out of prejudice, more than knowledge, as such as have liv'd amongst the Papists beyond Sea under a Popish Government, and they may chance to tell you more of their manners, of the Clergy's Power and Laity's Subjection, and the cruel Mercies of the Bloody Inquisition. Do you think that these Ravenous strangers will be more kind to you, than their own Country-men? That such as look upon you but as Hereticks, and so, little better than plaine Bastards: Your Parents having not in their opinion been rightly Married, because not according to the Constitution of their Church, who think themselves highly injur'd by you, in your keeping the Abbies Lands from reverting to their antient Use, and in building anew the Old Religious Houses destroyed in your Fore-fathers days, who already gnash upon you with their Teeth, in hopes of a future Power over you, and have had I know not how many Projects and Contrivances to destroy you Body and Soul, in prosecution whereof so many of their Brethren in Iniquity have already lost their Lives in your hands; That such should be thought by your Friends to *England*, and it's Laws? That such whimsical Phantasies should enter into the hearts of English men? Do you think they will alter their manners, by shifting their Habitations? That Blackamore will ever change his Skin by coming into a colder Climate?

Let us look a little upon the first Discoveries of their late grand Plot, (so often inculcated upon the Nation by His Majesties many Royal Proclamations and Speeches, that no Loyal Spirits can any longer doubt of the Truth of it, who give any deference to the Word of a King) and we shall find there

main Design after our King's Murder, to have rooted  
 out the Gentry of the Nation, whose Lives should it  
 seem, have been offered up as so many Sacrifices to  
 appease the injur'd Ghost of their Murder'd Prince.  
 Some of your Women, perhaps they might have con-  
 descended to have sav'd for their Lusts, your little  
 Children for Slaves, the Poor and baser sort for their  
 servants, but the Men of Substance must in likelihood  
 have gone all to pot, as Obstacles to their cruel in-  
 tended Design. And yet still 'tis but a perhaps; we  
 are not sure they would have spared any. Nay ra-  
 ther, we are morally certain, that all of any tolerable  
 age must have Died, if the Deposition of Mr. *Bedlow*  
 (so often credited) remains yet of any value amongst  
 us, from whose Attestation publicly sworn upon  
 oath in *Ireland's* Trial, we find the extent of the  
 design, (besides the subversion of the Government) to  
 have been, the extirpating of the Protestant Religion  
 to that Degree, (which was alwaies concluded on in  
 the Consults wherein he was) that they would not  
 leave any Member of any Heretick in *England*, that  
 could survive, to tell in the Kingdom hereafter, that  
 there was ever any such Religion in *England*, as the  
 Protestant Religion. If discovered, and so frustrated,  
 contrivances may not sufficiently warn you, to be-  
 ware of the Jesuits Intentions to youward: Consider,  
 matters of Fact, and see what hath already been  
 done in other places, and so come from thinking what  
 hath been done, to what may be done, and what  
 surely should be done, if some might have their  
 eyes, minds and desires. Cast a look or two upon  
*Bemia*, that once flourishing Land, under *Wickliff's*  
 doctrine; Famous for the Martyrdom of *John Hus*,  
 and *Jerom* of *Prague*; the Courage of blind *Zisca*  
 with his valiant Souldiers, and noted also for their  
 liberty of Chusing their Princes; See now how



much of the *Bohemians* Antient Liberty or Religion is yet remaining amongst them. Enough of the practices and devices the Jesuits used to new-mould the Nation, after they had once reduc'd it by force of Arms, you may find in the History of the *Bohemian* Persecution, London, Printed by B. A. *John Walker.*

But to return to King *John*, whence I have digressed, after his Resignation and Reassumption of the Crown at the yearly Rent of 900 or 1000 Marks Silver, the Return of the Archbishop, and the calling of Exiles into the Land, we read of the releasing and annulling of the Interdiction, which had lasted years, odd months and days, but it was not because that the King, according to one of the Articles, made restitution to the sufferers, which the Chronicle saith amounted in the whole to 180000 Marks. He would have thought, after so much trouble, the King would have been weary of endeavouring after Arbitrary Power. But the Event may make us apt to think that among other inducements, to yield to the King's cited hard terms of Accommodation, one might have some hope to domineer the better over the Laity, when he was reconciled to the Clergy, and so take a comfortable revenge upon such, as would not erewhile assist against the Pope. For not long after the late Agreement, we find mention made of so great difference between the King and his Lords, that much Power was raised on either part. One occasion alledged that the King would not hold *Edward's* Laws, yet he had taken an Oath, at the Return of the Exil'd Clergy-men into *England*, to call in all the old Laws, and put in place of them the Laws of King *Edward*, if *Stow's* Annals record the Truth. Another, that the King would have Exil'd with the Law the Earl of *Chester*, for some Advice be-  
 1. 17

given him, relating to his Vices, which the other did not well digest. The King's Party being then the stronger, the Lords took the City of *London* for their Refuge, and remained therein. Though we read of much harm done this year in *London* by Fire, and of the burning a great part of the Burrough of *Southwark*; yet it seems the City was strong enough to become the Barons Bulwark against the inrag'd King's Ire: And siding with them, so inanced the Barons fame, that (as *Stow* tells us) all except a few went to the Barons side, so that King *John* durst not peep out of *Windsor* Castle. At length by the Prelates Mediation a Peace was made for a while, and to establish it the firmer, the King and the Lords soon after met with great strength on either side on *Berham* Down, where a Charter was devis'd, made, and sealed by the King to the Barons content. *A.C.* 1214. according to *Falisan's* account. *Henry Fitz. Alwyn* continued then Mayor of *London*, *Ralph Eglant* and *Constantine le Fosne* being Sheriffs in this 14th year of *K. John's* Reign. Yet in *Stow* we read of a Meeting appointed in a Meadow between *Stains* & *Windsor*, where the King granted the Liberties without any difficulty, the Charter whereof is dated, *June 16. An. Reg.* 17.

As for the loud and clamorous Declamations of such, who tell us, that the grand Charter of our Lives, Liberties and Estates, our Properties and Priviledges, was gain'd at first by Rebellion, and would thus flily as it were insinuate, that it was and is retained by like unlawful waies and means: We would desire them to give us better proofs for what they say, than their own bare Asseverations, which will not yet go for currant Coin in all Markets. That *Edward* the Confessor's Laws were very acceptable to the generality of the Nation, we have great reason to believe from their continued desire to retain them. That *William* the first granted

granted the use of them to the Nation, is sufficiently instanced above. That *Henry* the first used them likewise mentioned before, for so affirms the Chronicle. That King *John* himself accorded to them at his coming to the Crown, we may (I doubt not) reasonably believe, considering his Title, and the Contest he was like to have about it. If a Negative may be admitted an Argument in the case, I do not remember that I have read of any difference between him and his Lay-Barons about them, till after that he was reconciled to the Pope, by the resignation of his Crown, and performance of the other conditions enjoined him. But after the King's giving away his Crown, and resuming it again upon a Foundation wholly and altogether new, I know not but he might think all former obligations void, and so would endeavour to have his Will of the Laity, when he hoped he had fixt the Clergy fast enough on his side, by the new condescension he had lately made to the Pope's Ambitious desires and pretensions. It was after this Reconciliation that we read in *Stow* of the Barons coming to *St. Edmundsbury*, and producing the Charter of King *Henry* the first, which they had received of the Archbishop *Stephen*.

However, let the occasional Causes of making and confirming this grand Charter of our English Liberties be what they will; whatever were the grounds of the Barons desiring, or the motives of the King's granting it: Upon what Foundation soever (so it be founded at the bottom) stand these Pacts and Compacts between the King and his Subjects. For my part I know no reason why Princes and Great men should not think it their Duty, to keep their words firm and inviolable, as well as persons of meaner rank and quality. 'Twas a *Romish* Cardinal, an *Italian*, a *Papist*, living long in the *French* Government, from whom I have heard

heard come the Doctrine, of not being a slave to ones word. As the Duty, so I believe it the Interest of Governours, to be just and firm to their Promises, otherwise it is a Question how long the people under them will continue firm to theirs, when they think they have a convenient opportunity to break them. Fear may do much, but Conscience I fancy will do but little in this Case, to keep the one Party fixt and firm to his Bargain, when the other values not to perform the Conditions of their mutual Compact.

Such as love to talk of nothing but Conquerours and Conquests, captivating and enslaving men to Arbitrary Powers, as if at feud and defiance with all mankind but themselves and their own Party: if my Advice may be taken, they would do wisely to stifle such harsh unpleasing Doctrines in their own breasts, and not openly produce them in publick view to all without distinction, lest one bold confident brazen-fac'd fellow or other should start up out of the Vulgar Herd, and ask them, why the people would not have as good a Title to their Power, when they had got the upper hand, as those Princes, who claim only by Conquest? A Question that at first view would seem very plausible to many, if well stated without the previous consideration of Oaths, Promises and Compacts. As for the consequences, that some may fancy hid in the belly of it, like the Armed *Grecians* in the *Trojan Horse*, look they to them, who find themselves concern'd on either side.

It's well enough known, what a large tract of ground, the *French King* hath seiz'd in the *Spanish Netherlands* within these few years, and brought the People of those Provinces under his own Subjection by force. That his title to those lands at first was none of the best is plain enough to such, as know his Pretensions. As for that shadow of claim, which might be fancied to accrue to him by his Queen, she late

late *Spanish* Kings Daughter, that it is clear done away as far as words and writings could go, is manifest by the Printed Articles of the *Pyrenean* Treaty. The best Title, I find he had to those Countries, was the *Spanish* Kings weakness to defend those Subjects himself, together it may be with some unwillingness let them look to the payment of as great an Army, as was thought needful for their defence, out of their own Money, by their own Officers. He was made perhaps to fear, lest the Soldiers should have been more at the Devotion of such as paid them, than at his raising them, though he appointed such a General, such Officers, and such Soldiers as he thought fit, and had had the sole ordering of them, at his own will and pleasure, in all other things but naming the Partisanes. Or rather was it not his prime Councellers, the *Spaniards*, loathness to lose the many pickings they glean'd out of their Offices in those Countries by defrauding the Soldiers of their appointed pay, and so cheating both King and Country? Public good is much bandied up and down among men in words, but in truth and reality, private interest rules that which most overflows. As for the rest of the *French* Kings pretences, that he makes use of the sword for meer colours, is evident by the novel inventions of Dependencies. If need be, we doubt not but, that *Hamball* passing over the rugged *Alps* with his army, he can either find a way or make one; be it such a one, as his *Manifesto*, at the beginning of the late Wars with the *Dutch*, tells us of, viz. his own Glory: One of the truest pretensions I believe of the

Now put the Case and suppose, that the Inhabitants of these late subdued Countries (brought under the *French* Kings Subjection by the force of their Arms, and all former right and title to them being relinquish'd by their ancient Prince the King

Spain in his late Treaties) should one time or other, away some unexpected, unseen, unthought of accident, let such power into their hands, as to break off these *French* Chains of Slavery, beat the *French* Kings Officers and Soldiers out of their Country, and keep them at a Bay by the strength of their Arms: the Question would be among our Politick Casuists, whether they would not have as good right and Title, to place the Government of their Country in what hands they pleased, as the *French* King now hath in actual possession: My meaning is of such, who shall not have pass'd away themselves, by Oaths, Covenants and Compacts. That they sit down quietly under the *French* Government, and do not publicly oppose, is but a silent argument, a negative proof at the best. They do not openly declare their dissent, *ergo* they assent and consent, is such a conclusion that will not well and cleverly follow from the premises. That such as are for the present *French* interest may be firm, let them likewise well prove, but methinks true *English* men should not be over-ready to disclaim the *Netherlands* right, when they call to mind, that in Queen *Elizabeths* days our Governours thought good to defend the poor distressed Provinces, against the tyrannical Arbitrary pretences of the *Spanish* King, who, contrary to their ancient priviledges would have reduc'd them all by force to Popery and Slavery, to a purpose which, their Neighbours, especially *England*, so powerfully assisted them, that the *Spaniard* was oblig'd at last to declare, he would treat with them, as with free States, before he could get a treaty of peace with them. Such as break ancient Covenants, and throw the first stone, had need stand upon safe and sure ground, least they find too many stones flying about the ears of their Ears before the end of the fray. We moreover have found the *Spaniards* within these few years

coming

coming into the assistance of these same new State  
once his old Subjects, against the *French Kings* Pot-  
er ready in a manner to over-run them. We may  
have heard likewise of publick Addresses, in behalf  
the same side, made of late to our present King, and  
esteem'd the general Consent of the Nation.

After King *John* had granted the grand Charter  
to his Lords, and every one was departed peacefully  
into his own Country, there were hopes doubtless  
a happy peace to ensue, and long to continue. But  
seemst those hopes were soon blasted. For the very  
next year, viz. the 15, we read of the late agree-  
ment's being violated and broken by the King, who  
according to my Author, persevering in his wrong  
would in no wise be induc'd to hold his own grant  
but to execute all things after pleasure, nothing ac-  
cording to Law and Justice. These violations produc'd  
a new War between King *John* and his Nobles, which  
ended not till after the Kings Death. So troublesome  
was it to the Nation, so dangerous to the King, that  
he should have such ill Ministers about him, who  
were either authors or followers of no better advice  
than what could not consist with the Kings keeping  
his Royal Word. That the Sheep were made  
for the Shepherd, to clip, shear, pill, and slay at  
own will and pleasure, is a Doctrine that the peace-  
ful innocent harmless Sheep would no longer volun-  
tarily assent to, than while the Knife is held at their  
throat, how acceptable soever it may be to the ravenous  
Wolves, and the degenerate Dogs of the flock.

When King *John* found himself too weak to main-  
tain with his Barons, and yet it seems by the evidence  
not willing enough to keep to his former grant, which  
he sent beyond Sea, and call'd in strangers for  
his Assistance. We read that *Northfolk* and *Suffolk*  
were the Lands promised to those strangers, and

would come over to aid the King, who had a little  
 before got the Pope to disannul the aforefaid Charter  
 and liberties granted ere while by him, and excommu-  
 nicate the Barons. We have mention made in *Stow*  
 of 3 times of strangers coming over. So many of  
 them were cast away at one time by Tempest, who  
 were coming over, Men, Women and Children, that  
 it's said of 4000 not one escap'd alive. So that we  
 may observe, 'tis an old trick to call in Foreigners  
 upon the Natives, when Arbitrary designs are on  
 foot. When the King was found to have invited  
 strangers to his aid, the Lords also sent into *France*  
 for help and succour. When two Women fall a scold-  
 ing, and pulling one anothers head-cloths, whoever  
 first began the fray, it is much but both will be in  
 a scuffle before it end. *London* was the place, where the  
 Lords kept themselves together, till the expected aid  
 and succour from beyond Sea was brought to them  
 under *Lewis* the *French Kings* Son, who landing  
 in *England* with a strong Army, came afterwards to  
*London*, and was there received. Hence he with the  
 Lords departing, won many Castles in the Land, and  
 at their return had the *Tower of London* given up to  
 them by appointment. Tho the *Tower* held long for  
 the King, yet 'twas the City it seems that bare the  
 bray, and adhered to the Lords. What a strength  
 they were of we may observe out of *Stow*, where  
 King *John* is said to have made hast to besiege *Lon-*  
*don*, but the Londoners were hereby so little daunted,  
 that they set open their Gates, and were ready to meet  
 him ten miles off the City, whereupon the King with-  
 drew, understanding their boldness, and multitude;  
 when the Major *Roger Fitz Alwyn* was accused to be  
 favourable to the Kings Party, we find him quickly  
 discharg'd of his Office, and one *Serle Mercer* chosen  
 in his place; so great was the favour of the Citizens  
 to



to the Barons and their Cause, that they spar'd not their own head Officer and Ruler, when he lay under the suspicion of favouring Arbitrary designs, so contrary to the mind of the Citizens. The War still continuing, and King *John* being not able to prevail, tho' the Pope interceded by his Legate, he had at last (as some writes) all his Arbitrary designs quench'd with a Cup of Poyson, at *Swinstead* Abby about *Lincoln*. Tho' another Author is said to affirm that he died of the flux at another place.

Soon after this unhappy unfortunate King *John*'s death, we meet with an eminent instance of *English* mens Loyalty, as well as of their love of liberty and freedom; for though the King and his Lords were at so great a difference most of the latter part of his Reign, and he left the Throne and his life at such a time, when his Barons were likely in outward appearance to be much too strong for him & his, his surviving Heir being but then a Child of about 9 years of age: Yet, as if all rancour and animosity against the King and his Party was dead and buried with him in his Grave, the wheel of affairs was so turn'd, as it were, in an instant, that *Lewis* and his strangers were disgusted, and the young Fatherless Prince was proclaimed, and Crown'd King of the *Land*, at an age wherein he was not fit to be left to his own guidance without a Tutor, It's plain enough by this instance that *English* hearts were more loyal, than naturally to desire the ruine of their Prince and his Family; at any time they appear'd in Arms against him in defence of their Lives, Liberties and Freedoms, how ready have they shewed themselves to accord and submit, as soon as those men of ill Principles, and Arbitrary practices, were remov'd from their Prince who had rais'd those clouds of discontent between him and his People?

The chief of those that so soon returned to their Allegiance, were the powerful Earls of *Pembroke* and *Chester*, who drew with them a very considerable retinue. They may be probably thought to hope, to infuse better Principles into their young Prince in his Nonage, than appeared by former Arbitrary actions to have been in his Father, and so model the Government into a better frame in the time of that power, they were, as the chief Nobles, most likely to have under the King in his younger days. Neither do I know but somewhat might proceed from remorse of Conscience. The Earl of *Chester*, in the 2d year of the Kings Reign, taking his journey into the *Holy-Land*, the Religion of those times having made that the usual way of Expiation. Some such intent of the Earl stands likewise upon record in one of the Chronicles, saith my Author. Another very probable occasion of this sudden change of Affairs in the Kingdom, may be supposed to have risen from the Death-bed confession of a *French* Nobleman, who is reported to have discovered *Lewis's* intent, to ruin, destroy, and quite root out those *English* Lords that adhered to him, as if in detestation of their disloyalty to their own natural *English* Sovereign. When the Barons came once to find, that he, whom they had called in to defend them against their Kings Arbitrariness, intended to violate and break their Covenants established at first between them, when he should come to have opportunity, and so turn their explored aid into their certain destruction, they might well think they had reason enough to disclaim his Alliance, and endeavour to frustrate his privy intentions, by returning to their former Allegiance as soon as a fit season presented it self: Conditional promises not being very commonly reputed to bind the party, when the conditions required are not

G

per-

performed by the other. Whatever the true occasion was, *London* we find the place where this turn was first publickly declared, by proclaiming *Henry* King throughout the City, *Oct. 20.* so considerable was even the reputed favour of the Citizens. *Lewis* about these indeed afterwards a while, and the Barons on his side, but his strength so diminished in a little time, that he was glad at last to take Money and away upon composition, even in the 1st year of the King, or beginning of the 2d.

This *K. Hen.* being the Son of such a Father, whose practices too much betrayed his Principles, and being in so troublesome a time, as his Fathers contest with the Clergy, we may be apt to believe he had a share of his Fathers malady. So full of troubles do we find his Reign, such complaints of the Government, such amendments endeavoured, and reformations made, one while by the peaceable Councils of the Parliament, another while by the compulsive power of the Barons Swords: all which we may impute, either to his own natural inbred disposition, or else to the over-ruling advices of ill Ministers, so often working upon the Kings Good-nature, as upon slight pretences to make his power serve their own Interest to carry on their corrupt arbitrary designs: So many were the ups and downs, risings and falls, changes and turns of Fortune in these times, such variety and mutability of Councils in affairs, and the City of *London* so much concerned in most of the considerable Actions then on foot, (now in the Kings favour, as soon again out of it, one while enjoying their ancient Priviledges and Customs, another time deprived of their Liberties, and their Franchises seized upon slight occasions, and anon again restored all, with addition of new grants,) that I find it convenient, through much of this Kings Reign, to write in my Annals after my Author.

In the 3d of this King is mention made of a Parliament kept at *London*. In the 4th were Proclamations made in *London*, and through the Land, that all strangers should depart out of the Land, except such as came with Merchandize; the intent hereof is said to be wholly to rid the Land of such strangers as possessed Castles in it contrary to the Kings Will and Pleasure. This year also was the King Crowned the 2d time at *Westminster*. In the 6th was detected a Conspiracy within *London*, which the King is said to have taken so grievously, that he was minded to have thrown down the City Walls, till considering that it was only a design of some of the Rascality, and not of the Rulers, he assuaged his displeasure taken against the City. *Robert Serle* was then Mayor, *Richard Anger*, *Josens le Josne*, Sheriffs. *An. Reg. 7.* in a Council kept at *London*, *Stow* tells us, the King was required by the Peers Spiritual and Temporal to confirm the Liberties, for which the War was made against his Father, and he had sworn to observe at the departure of *Lewis* out of *England*, whereupon the King commanded the Sheriffs to enquire by the oaths of Twelve lawful men, what were the Liberties in *England* in his Grand-fathers time, and send the Inquisition so made up to *London*. Hence we observe that *England* had Liberties and rights of their own, before the Barons War in King *John's* days, and therefore seem injuriously upbraided, as if they got them first by Rebellion. The good Government of *England*, which (as a modern Author words it) was before like the Law of Nature, only written in the hearts of men, came upon obtaining the 2 Charters) to be express in parchment, and remains a Record in writing, though these Charters gave us no more than what was our right before. The 8th is noted for the grant made to

the King, by his Barony in Parliament, of the Ward and Marriage of their Heirs. A good advantage sometimes for the King, to fix Noble mens Estates in such Families as he best pleased.

*A.R.9.* A Fifteenth was granted to the King, to aid him in his right beyond the Seas, and he, by confirming the great Charter, granted to the Barons and People their rights. The 11th year is of note for many beneficial Grants made to *London* by the King. The Sheriffwick of *London* and *Middlesex* was let to farm to the Sheriffs of *London*, for 300 *l.* yearly. On *Feb. 18.* was granted, that all Wears in *Thames* should be pluckt up and destroyed for ever. On *March 16.* the King granted by his Charter ensealed, that the Citizens of *London* should pass Toll-free through the Land, and upon any Citizen's being constrained to pay Toll in any place of *England*, the Sheriffs were impowered to attach any man of that place coming to *London* with his goods, and to keep and withhold till the Citizens were restored all such Moneys taken from them, with costs and damages. *Aug. 18.* was granted to the Citizens Warren, that is, free liberty of Hunting within a certain circuit about *London*. Yet notwithstanding we read in another Author, of this years History, of the Kings compelling the *Londons* to lay him down a large sum of Money, besides the 15th part of their moveables, because forsooth they had given *Lewis* (who came to their aid in *K. John's* days with an Army) 5000 Marks at his departure out of *England*. It may be the King gave them some of these Priviledges (which cost him nothing) to induce them to give down their Money more willingly, and not too much to displease them whose power was so well known in those days, afterward experienced to some mens cost. *Roger De Mayor, Stephen Bockerel, and Henry Cobham* Sheriffs

this year, and also the next, viz. 12. when the Franchises and Liberties of the City were by the King confirmed; and to each of the Sheriffs was granted to have 2 Clerks, & 2 Officers, & to the Citizens that they should have and use a common Seal. This year we read that the King in a Council held at *Oxford*, proclaimed, that being of age he would rule himself at pleasure, and forthwith cancelled the Charters of Liberties, as granted in his Nonage. Whereupon it followed (says my Author) that whoso would enjoy the Liberties before granted, must renew their Charters of the Kings new Seal at a price awarded: But the Barons shortly after declared to the King, that except he would restore the Charter lately cancelled they would compel him by the Sword: Such brisk assertors were they (it seems) resolved to be of their Liberties. On the 13th, while the Bishop of London was at high Mass in *St. Pauls*, happened suddenly such dark mists of Clouds, and such a Tempest of Thunder and Lightening, that the People got out of the Church, and left the Bishop there in great fear, with but a small attendance. For all the many rags Papists make of their Mass, and the wonderfull power and vertue they would fain persuade us to believe there is in it, it seems then all had not faith enough to trust too much in it, when fear and thick darkness had seized on them, though 'twas the common voice in those days, that a few Masses could deliver mens Souls out of Purgatory: But you may be sure they were well to be paid for first. Noted in the 14th was the Ordinance made by the Mayor *Robert Duke*, and the Rulers of *London*, that no Sheriff should continue in Office longer than one year; the cause related was the opportunity some of them made use of to take extortions and bribes, with other defaults, by reason of the continuance of their

Office. The 17th is not lightly to be pass'd over, that the K. therein kept his *Christmas* at *Worcester* according to *Stow*, where he removed all his Office and Councillors, Bishops, Earls, and Barons, and for strangers, viz. *Pittavians*, retain'd them in Service, and committed to them the keeping of Castles and Treasures. What could hence be expected but murmurings and repinings amongst the Native. Accordingly we hear some time after of Messengers sent by the Barons to the King, requesting the displacing of those strangers, and also threatning, that otherwise they would depose him, and create a new King. A bold message from as bold Subjects. For we may read of the King's Lands being invaded the next year, and destroy'd by fire and sword by the Earls *Pembroke*, and the Prince of *North-Wales*. Whereupon we find in a little time the *Pittavians* expell'd, Peace made with these two great discontented men, and the King's natural Subjects recall'd, and their Country yielded to by the King.

The 19th is remarkable for the King's Marriage with the Royal Solemnity, Jufts and Tourneaments kept 8 days near *Westminster*, at the Queen's Coronation. Yet *Stow* places the time a year after, as doth also many other particular occurrences happening in this King's Reign. From the same Author we are given to understand, that to this Coronation resorted so great a number of all Estates, that the City of *London* was scarce able to receive them. Great was the splendour, wherein the City appeared on this occasion, it being adorn'd with Silks, and in the night with Lamps, Cressets, and other lights, without number, besides many Pageants, & strange devices, which were then shewn. The Citizens rode to meet the King and Queen, being clothed in long garments, embroidered with Gold and Silk of divers colours, their horses

er, horses finely trapped in array, to the number of 360. Every man bearing Gold or Silver Cups in their hands, & the King's Trumpeters before them sounding. The 21<sup>th</sup> was ominous to the University of Oxford, for the Scholars abusing *Ottoboon* the Pope's Legate, who afterwards accused the misdoers, and so punished them, that the Regents & Masters were at last compelled to go barefoot through *Cheapside* to *Pauls* in *London*, there to ask forgiveness of him, which was granted, it seems, with difficulty enough. His Master the Pope, when cross'd and incens'd, is wont to be sufficiently stately, and backward in pardoning such as displease him, & not without much intercession sometimes; why then should not the Servant Ape it after so great an Example?

In the 23<sup>d</sup> year, for that the Mayor and Heads of the City refus'd to obey the King's Commandment, in Chusing *Simon Fitz Marre* Sheriff, as the King had order'd them, which they lookt upon as a derogation to their Liberties: The King sent for them, and after words of displeasure discharg'd the old Mayor *Will. Joyntour*, newly Elected for the following year, and charg'd the Citizens to proceed to a new Election, which to content the King they did, and Chusing *Gerard Bat*, by his means and policy obtained the King's favour, and frustrated the other purpose, who had procur'd the aforesaid Commandment, and complain'd to the King of the Citizens for their disobeying it. In the 25<sup>th</sup> the Citizens having Chosen *Gerard Bat* anew for the year following, & presented him to the King according to Custom, He, who the last year had so gain'd the King's favour in behalf of the City, was now so far out of it by means of some mens Informations, that he with his company was first dismiss'd, and put off till another time, and at last, for some offences alledged, and displeasure conceived



against him, clearly put by; the King swearing a great Oath, that he should not that year be Mayor, nor any time hereafter. Whereupon the Commons, certified of the King's pleasure, chose *Remond Bengley* in his stead. The Citizens having the year before been prevail'd upon to alter their Election, that was Provident enough it seems to occasion the like again.

The City having obtain'd great Priviledges of the King in his younger days, we find already some endeavouring to frustrate and disappoint the effect and benefit of them. The City had appear'd with a great deal of success, in opposition to the last King's proceedings, and therefore it's likely, such as intended to attempt again for Arbitrary Power, thought the City too headstrong easily to permit them to succeed in their desires, unless they could first bring the Citizens a little under, by cunningly undermining their Liberties. Whereupon we find this year a specious pretence taken to oblige the Commonalty, by offering to free and keep them from being oppressed by the Heads and Rulers of the City. How well this plausible Plea took for a while, will be manifested in the sequel of the Story. That there were great heats and animosities in those times between the City and the Court, may easily be observ'd out of *Stow*, who tells us in the 25th years *Annals*, how the Citizens were threatned, that the Walls and Bulwarks of the Tower were builded in despite of them, to the end that if any of them would presume to contend for the Liberties of the City, they might there be imprisoned. And to the intent, that many might be laid in divers Prisons, many Lodgings were there made that no one should speak with another. An occasion was also taken sometime after to Fine the City 2500 Marks, for the receiving into the City a person banish'd from thence 20 years. Notwithstanding

The Citizens had prov'd, that before that time the said  
 person had been reconcil'd and restor'd to the King's  
 favour. Another device to exact Money from the  
 Londoners, was the proclaiming a Mart at *Westmin-*  
*ster*, to last 15 days, with a Command that all Trades  
 should cease in the City for that space of time,  
 which the Citizens were fain to redeem with 2000*l*.  
 Yet they still increast in Riches, while the King was  
 compell'd for want to sell his Plate and Jewels much  
 to his loss, which being sold and bought at *London*,  
 in the 33d year of his Reign, occasioned this his ex-  
 pression upon knowledge thereof, (as my Author re-  
 lates it) *I know that if Octavian's Treasure were to be*  
*old, the City of London would sup it up; and by it*  
*those rustical Londoners (quoth the King) abound in*  
*wealth, and call themselves Barons.* Noted is the 25th  
 year likewise for the first Chusing of Aldermen, who  
 then had the Rule of the City and its Wards, and  
 were yearly chang'd as are the Sheriffs. In the 29th  
 year *Nicholas Bat*, contrary to a former Ordinance,  
 being Chosen Sheriff again, was discharg'd and punish'd,  
 as being convict of Perjury. The Mayor likewise *Michael*  
*Tony*, Chosen anew for the following year, was de-  
 pos'd and punish'd, after that by Deposition of the Al-  
 dermen he was found guilty in the said Crime. What-  
 ever were the grievances and faults committed in the  
 rest of the Land, (some we read complain'd of, particu-  
 larly among the Clergy) the City-Officers shall be sure  
 to be watch'd, if they were not of the side some would  
 have them. In the 31th year *Piers Aleyn* being Mayor,  
*John Voyle*, and *Nicholas Bat* Sheriffs, the Franchises of  
*London* were seized on *St. Bartholomews Eve*, for a Judg-  
 ment pretended to be wrongfully given by the Mayor  
 and Aldermen against a Widdow woman named *Marg-*  
*aret Vyell*, and the Rule of the City committed to *Will-*  
*laveryll*, and *Edward of Westminster*, till *Lady day*,  
 when

when the Mayor and Sheriffs were again admitted to their Offices. How ready were some to carp at the Act of this Honourable Society? Rather than fail of an occasion to diminish the Cities Liberties, we find them here wrongfully making a pretence; for upon due Examination afterwards made, the former Judgment was found good and true. In the 32th year *Queen Elizabeth* the Wharf was Farm'd by the Commonalty of the City for 90 l. yearly, and committed to the Sheriffs charge. But in *Fabian's* time the Profits were so diminished, that it was worth but little more than 20 Marks one year with another. That sublunary things ebb and flow, is no strange thing to be wondered at, it is so common observation. Though the Citizens this year enjoy their Liberties without interruption, the former pretence proving vain and frivolous, and falsely grounded, yet the King is said to have been grieved and displeas'd with them, for that they would not at his request exchange the Liberties granted aforetime to them by the King of *Middlesex*, for others to be had in other places. Whether these Liberties were on either hand, I have not found. It may be they had a suspicion they might be trappan'd, so be losers by the change. They were excellent good, seems, at hold-fast, and did not like Childrens play, give and take. Though some body should have come, and promis'd them in the King's Name, that they should have such and such Priviledges in exchange, and be great gainers by the Bargain; yet how could they tell he had sufficient Authority from His Majesty to make so large a Promise? Where were his Credentials? I read of none produced. Therefore in my opinion they had but too great reason to suspect to have had the Dy put upon them, should they have parted with present Priviledges in hopes of future Graces. A Bird in the hand is commonly reputed worth two in the bush: But when the Bird is carelessly let slip, and flown, who is that skilful

Fowler

Fowler, that can be sure of catching a better, or perhaps any at all? In the 34th year *Simon Fitz Marr*, Alderman of *London*, for his disobedience & evil Counsel given to the above-named Widdow, with other secret labour and matters by him intended to the City's hurt, was discharg'd of his Aldermanship, and put out of the Council of the City. It behov'd them to turn out of their Society such a one, who, in contradiction to their former order, had once before procur'd the King's Command to make them break it, and had given such Advice against them, that their Liberties were seized on, and their own City Officers for a time discarded, for no other than a pretended Crime wrongtully laid to their charge. Such false Friends and secret Enemies are most carefully to be watched against, as alwaies dangerous, yet too oft destructive to humane Societies.

In the 36th year was granted by the King, that an yearly Allowance should be made of 7 *l.* for certain Priviledges or Ground belonging to *Paul's Church*, which *Fabian* tells us continued also to be allowed in his days by the Barons of the Exchequer to every Sheriff, when they make their Accounts. This same year was also granted, for the Citizens more ease, that where-as before they us'd yearly to present their Mayor to the King, in whatsoever place he was in *England*, that henceforth they should, for lack of the King's presence at *Westminster*, present the Mayor, when Chosen, to the Barons of his Exchequer, there to be sworn and admitted, as before-times he was before the King. *Job. Toleson* Mayor, *Will. Durham*, *Tho. Wymborn* then Sheriffs. In the 37th year was granted, That no Citizen should pay Scavage (that is, Shewage) or Toll for any Beasts by them brought, as they before-time had. The swelling of *Thames* this year drowned many houses about the water side, to the damage of much Merchandise. *Thames* is one of the best friends the City has, by whose means their

their Riches grow and increase, by importing and exporting her Citizens Wares. 'Tis also a fast friend even in adversity, which the power and malice of her Enemies have never yet depriv'd her of, and yet you here find that she sometimes receives damage even from so good a friend, If the best friends may sometimes accidentally injure us, what would our Enemies do, were their power as large as their malice? For these two last years past, you may here perceive the favour *K. Henry* openly shew'd to the City, by the beneficial Grants he made her Citizens. Yet in the 38th that Tyde is turn'd by procurement of *Rich. Earl of Cornwall*, the King's Brother, for displeasure he bare to the City, for exchange of certain Ground to the same belonging: So that the King, under colour that the Mayor had not done due Execution upon the Bakers, for default in their Sizes, seized the Liberties of the City. The offence pretended in the 25th year, was, that the Mayor had received a certain Sum of Money of Bakers, Brewers, and other Victuallers, which his Predecessors also had done before him. In this 38th year here is another pretence found out. What an easie matter is it, for such to pretend faults, who must not be contradicted, or at least not without a great deal of caution and circumspection?

The manner of this Seizure, according to the Author, is thus to be understood, That whereas the Mayor and Commonalty of the City had by the King's Grant, the City to Farm, with divers Customs and Offices, for a stinted ascertained Sum, the King at this time set in Officers at his pleasure, which were accountable to him for all Revenues and Profits accruing and arising within the City. But about the 19th of *Novemb.* the Citizens having agreed with the foresaid Earl for 600 Marks, they were soon after restor'd unto their Liberties. Oh the powerful commanding force of Money, that can so often make enemies friends, and friends enemies!

The Mayor

Mayor this year, *Rich. Hardell*, being sent for, with the  
 Sheriffs, by the King, newly come to *London*, and lodg'd  
 in the *Tower*, fared better in this year's Mayoralty, than  
 he did within some few years after, wherein he continu-  
 ed Mayor. For being taxt by the King for the escape of  
 one, that had slain a Prior related to the King, he put off  
 the charge of this matter from himself to the Sheriffs, for  
 so much as to them belong'd the keeping of the City-  
 Prisons. Whereupon he returned home, and the Sheriffs,  
*Rob. Belyngton*, and *Ralph Aschewe* were detain'd for a  
 space Prisoners, and others chosen in their places; but how  
 they got off my Author sets not down. In the 39th year  
*Edw.* the King's Son's Wife was honourably received at  
*London* by the Citizens, and the City adorn'd with rich  
 Cloaths for the more state. Yet notwithstanding all this  
 Respect, it was not long before the King seiz'd their Li-  
 berties anew for certain Money, which the Q. claim'd  
 for her right of them. So that about *Martins-tyde* they  
 were in a manner necessitated to give her 400 Marks,  
 before their Liberties were restor'd them, and the King's  
 Under-Treasurer discharg'd, who for the time was  
 made *Custos* or Keeper of the City. What, had she no  
 other way to recover her Money, if it was due, but the  
 Cities Liberties must presently be seized on? The King's  
 Brother had got well the last year, by falling out with  
 the City, and getting their Liberties seiz'd. Was it not  
 then, do ye think, cunningly done of the Queen, to try  
 the same trick over again? 'Twas, it seems, too gainful  
 a project, to suffer it quietly to lye still without further  
 prosecution, before it grew too stale. Though the Citi-  
 zens and their Franchises were thus carpt at by Court-  
 Favourites, yet we find them still continuing their won-  
 dered respect to the King and Queen, when they came to  
*London*, where they were honourably received this very  
 same year, and so convey'd to *Westminster*. When the  
 Citizens had to do with the Court, and the King was  
 pleased

pleased to interest himself in the affair, History tells us that they were more than once compelled to draw their purses for Peace sake and Reconciliation, but when they had their other fellow Subjects to deal with, they proved Matches hard enough; as particularly in their suit with the Abbot of *Waltham*, which was at last accorded in the 40th year to their own advantage.

Come we now to the 41th year, a year not lightly to be forgotten by the worthy Citizens, and such as bear any respect to this honourable City, by reason of the many troubles that the Heads thereof underwent at this time, through the power and malice of some ill disposed Persons, who bore no Good will to this ancient foundation. Hitherto we have met with but light Skirmishes, a few trivial matters, in comparison of what you shall here find related out of *Fabian*, to have happened in the Mayoralty of *Richard Hardell*, and Shrievalties of *Rich. Ewell* and *William Ashwey*. A. C. 1257. The Relation is as followeth, almost word by word.

In this 41th year, and beginning of the same, was found in the Kings Wardrobe at *Windſor*, a Bill or Roll closed in green Wax, and not known from whence it should come, in which was contained divers Articles against the Mayor and Rulers of the City, and that by them the Commonalty of the City was grievously taxed and wronged, which Bill was presented at length to the King. Whereupon he sent *John Mansel*, one of his Justices, unto *London*, where, on *St. Paul's* day, by the Kings Authority, he called a Foik-moot, or Common-Hall, at *Pauls-Cross*, there being present *Richard de Clare*, Earl of *Gloucester*, and divers others of the Kings Council. Whereupon the said *John Mansel* caused the said Roll to be read before the Commonalty, and afterwards shewed to the People, that the Kings pleasure and mind was, that they should be ruled with Justice, and that the Liberties of the City should be maintained in every point;

point; and if the King might know those Persons that  
 so had wronged the Commonalty, they should be grie-  
 vously punished to others example. That done, *John*  
*Mansel* charged the Mayor, that every Alderman in his  
 Ward should, upon the morrow following, assemble  
 his Wardmoots, and that all those Wardmoots should  
 assemble in one place, and choose of themselves 36 Per-  
 sons, without any Counsel or advice of any of their Al-  
 dermen, and present them before the Lords and him at  
 the same hour the next day, in the Bishops Pallace at  
*Pauls*. Upon the morrow all was done according to his  
 Command. When the said 36 Persons were presented  
 before the said *John Mansel*, *Henry Baa*, Justices, and  
 others, he said unto them, that they upon their Oaths  
 should certifie all such persons as they knew guilty in  
 the Articles before shewed to the Commonalty.  
 Whereupon the 36 answered, that it was contrary to  
 their Liberties to be sworn so many, for any matter of  
 Trespass between the King and any of his Citizens.  
 Wherefore they required a sparing; with which answer  
*John Mansel* being discontented, warned them to ap-  
 pear before the Kings Council at *Guild-hall* upon the  
 morrow following, where they kept their day. Thither  
 came the said Justices, *John Mansell* and *Hen. Baa*, Sir  
*Hen. Wengham*, Chancellour of England, *Philip Lovel*,  
 Under treasurer, and divers others of the Kings Council.  
 Then the said *John Mansell* exhorted the said Persons  
 to be sworn by many means, as he the other day had  
 done; but all was in vain: For they excused themselves,  
 that it was contrary to their Oath and Liberty of their  
 City. Wherefore the Kings Council departed from the  
 Hall in part discontented, and shewed to the King the  
 said Citizens demeanour. Upon *Candlemas* Eve the  
 Mayor being warned that the King would come to  
*Westminster*, he, with the more part of the Aldermen,  
 went to *Knightsbridge*, and tarried there to salute the  
 King,



King, and know his further pleasure. But when the King came near that place, and heard of their being there, he sent to them an Esquire of the Household, and charged them that they should not presume to come in to his sight; with which message they being greatly discomfited, returned home to the City. Afterward in the Octaves of the Purification, *Michael Tony* and *Adam Basyngge* returned from Court, who before were sent by the Mayor to such Friends as they had in the Court, to know the cause of the Kings high displeasure and brought word back, that the King was well minded towards the City, but he was in full purpose to have such persons chastized, that had oppressed the Commonalty of the same. Upon the morrow following came unto the *Guild Hall* *John Mansell*, with others of the Kings Council, who, to the People there assembled shewed many fair and pleasant words. Amongst which he declared, that the Kings Mind and Will was, to correct all such persons, as had oppressed the Commonalty of that his dearest beloved City, and asked of the Commons whether they would be agreeable to the same. The which, incontinently, many such as knew little what the matter meant, cried without discretion, *Yea, Yea, Yea*, nothing regarding the Liberty of the City. After the grant thus had of the Commons, the said *John Mansell* discharged the Mayor, Sheriffs, and Chamberlain of their Offices, and delivered the Custody thereof unto the Constable of the Tower, and put in the room of the Sheriffs *Michael Tony*, and *John Audrian*. And over that all Rolls of Tolls and Tallages, before made were delivered unto the said *John Mansel*, which he there sealed, and redelivered to the Chamberlain. When the Commons had beheld all this business, they returned unto their Houses all confused.

Do we wonder at the Commons readiness in this affair, that they, who usually have been such brisk assertors

of their Liberties, should now be the occasional cause of bringing them into danger? We may suppose that this was no proper Common-Hall, but rather called by an order from Court, and filled with the populace; for in those days I do not find there was any express Act made by King, Lords and Commons, in being, to forbid the Council Table from intermeddling in Civil Causes, and determining of the Subjects Liberties, or so to regulate its Jurisdiction, Power, and Authority, as to leave such matters to be tried and determined in the ordinary Courts of Justice, and by the ordinary course of Law. Or else we conclude the Restriction of the Common-Hall to the Livery-Men was not then in use; so that the Rabble being intermixt, it might be no hard matter to get a cry raised by some of them in favour of the proceedings then on foot. The Mobile being as liable to be wrought upon by fear, or fair promises, as the great and rich to be corrupted by the hopes of Honours and Preferments, and the favour of more potent Grandees; while as the middle sort of People, like the golden mean between two Extreames, are not generally so capable of being drawn aside after the lure, being too many to be brib'd, and not few enough to be frighted; not so high and wealthy as to aspire after greater Grandeur, nor so low, mean and despicable, as to be imposed upon by the empty names of Greatness and Honour without Virtue, sprung up at first from Vice, and nourished by and amidst repeated Debaucheries.

This matter thus ordered, *John Mansell*, with divers of the Kings Council, kept their Courts daily (the *Sundays* except) till the 1st *Sunday* of *Lent*, which that year was *Jan. 25.* calling before him 12 Wards of the City; out of every of which Wards were taken 3 men, so that 36 men were impannelled, and sworn, to enquire of the aforesaid Articles, and what Persons of the City had offended in them. This Court being thus kept and

H

holder

holden at *Guild-Hall*, no man was called to answer, nor no question put to any Person by the said Inquest, or any other. Upon the foresaid 1st Sunday of *Lent*, the Mayor, Aldermen, and Sheriffs, with the forementioned Inquest, and 4 men of every Ward were charged to appear at *Westminster* before the King, at which appearance they were countermanded till the next morning. At which season coming into the Kings Exchequer, they found sitting there the Earls of *Glocester* and *Warwick*, *John Mansell*, *H. Baa*, Justices, the Constable of the Tower, the Custos of the City and divers others of the Kings Council. Then was called by name *Ralph* (*Richard*) *Hardell*, that year Mayor, *Nicholas Batts*, *Nicholas Fiz Jofne*, *Mathew Beckerel*, *John Tollesham*, and *John Minoure*, Aldermen. Then *John Mansell* said, that the King by his Laws and Inquisition of the Citizens, had found them culpable, that they had wronged and hurt the Commonalty of his City by divers means, as by the said Inquisition appeared, and forthwith caused it to be read before them. When the more part thereof was read, he said unto them, Thus may you see that the Commonalty of the City hath been by you grievously oppressed, and by your means and Counsel the Commonwealth of the same destroyed, as by altering of the Tolls, and other good ancient Customs, turning them to your singular advantage and lucre. All which matters the said *Ralph* (*Richard*) and his Company denied, and that the Commons were not grieved or hurt by them, or any of them by any such means, and offered to be justified and judged by the Law and Customs of the City. Then *Henry Baa*, Justice, asked of them, whether they would abide the adventure of the Inquiry that they had heard read before, or else stand upon the saying of the other Wardmen that yet had not been sworn, but they kept to their former Answer. Then *John Mansell* asked of the Mayor, what was their Law and Custom. The Mayor answered and

, nor said, that for trespass of a Citizen done against the King,  
 or a he should defend himself by 12 Citizens, for Murder or  
 , the slaying of a man, by 30 Citizens, and for trespass against  
 nation a stranger by the Oath of six and himself. Then after ma-  
 ed to ny reasons made by the said *John Mansell*, and also by  
 appear the Mayor and Aldermen, day was given them to appear  
 ning the morrow before the King and his Council.

, they Upon the day following, the King, with many of his  
 wick Lords sitting in the Exchequer, the aforesaid Inquisition  
 of the was read. That done, the Mayor and Aldermen were  
 of the called in by name, and two Aldermen more, which be-  
 'Rich fore were not called, viz. *Arnold Thedmarc*, and *Henry*  
 'Nicholas *Waldmode*. When *Ralph* (*Richard*) *Hardell* had heard  
 'John the King speak in the matter, he took such fear, that he  
 e King and *Nicholas Batt*, without further Answer, put them-  
 found selves in the King's grace, saved to them their Li-  
 urt the berties and Franchises of the City. But the other six  
 he said besought the King of his wisdom, that they might be  
 be reas judged after the Laws and Customs of the City. Then  
 ead, he was laid to their charge, that over many wrongs by  
 monal them done to the King and the Commonalty of the Ci-  
 pressed ty, they had alter'd the King's Beam, and order'd it to  
 ealth o headvantage of themselves, and other rich men of the  
 d othe City. Whereupon the Parties answered and said, *That*  
 singular the alteration of the Beam was not done by them only, but  
 d *Ralph* by the advice and consent of 500 of the best of the City.  
 e Com for where before-time the Weigher used to lean his  
 of them draught toward the Merchandise, so that the buyer had  
 nd judge y that means 10 or 12 pounds in a draught to his ad-  
 n *Hen* vantage, and the seller so much disadvantage; now for  
 ld abid difference and equality of both persons, it was or-  
 ard reas ain'd that the Beam should stand upright, the clef-  
 r War ereof inclining to neither party, as in weighing of  
 heir fir gold and Silver, and the buyer to have allowed of the  
 or, wha ller, for all things four pounds only in every draught.  
 ered an After these Reasons, and others by them made, the

King commanded that upon the morning following, a Folk-moot should be called at *Paul's Cross*, and so that Court was dissolved, and the Mayor and the others returned to *London*.

Upon the morrow the Folk-moot being at *Paul's Cross* Assembled, these six Aldermen hearing the murmuring of the common people, and knowing that the Aldermen, or Worshipful of the City should have little or no saying in this matter, and fearing their Cause, they went into a Canon's house of *St. Paul's*, where at that time *John Mansell* and others sent from the King, carryed the Assembling of the People, and shewed them, that they intended not any longer to plead with the K. but were contented to put themselves fully in the King's grace and mercy, saving alwaies to themselves and all other Citizens their Liberty and Franchise of the City. After which Agreement *John Mansell* with the others, came into the Court of Folk-moot, whereunto the people was rehearsed a fair and pleasant Tale, promising to them, that their Liberties should be wholly and inviolably preserved by the King, with many other things, to the great comfort of the common people. And lastly, it was asked of them whether the Law and Custom were such as is above rehearsed, or no; whereunto, like undiscree and unlearned people, they answered, and cryed, *Nay, nay, nay*, notwithstanding that the said Law and Custom had before-time been used time out of mind. To this was neither Mayor nor Aldermen, nor other of the great of the City, that might impugn or make any reason for upholding their antient Laws or Customs. And no wonder (continues my Author *Fabian*) though the King were thus heady or grievous to the City; for by such evil disposed and malicious people, as he had about him, the Land was ill ruled, and much mischief was used, whereof ensued much sorrow after. Then *John Mansell* called the Mayor and Aldermen before him, and charged them to be at

*West.*

*Westminster* the morrow following, to give attendance upon the King.

Upon the morrow the Mayor and Aldermen tarrying the King's coming in the great Hall at *Westminster*, the King came into *St. Stephen's* Chappel, where for a season he had a Council with his Lords, & after went into the Exchequer-Chamber, and there sate him down and his Lords about him. Anon after the Mayor and Aldermen were called into the said Chamber, and soon after called by name, and commanded to stand near the Bar. Then *Henry Baa* Justice, said unto the Mayor and 7 Aldermen, *That for so much as by form of the King's Laws, they were found culpable in certain Articles, touching transgression against the King, therefore the Court awarded, that they should make fine and ransom after the discretion of the said Court.* But for that they had put themselves in the King's grace and mercy, the King hath commanded the Fine to be put in respite, that ye be not pained so grievously, as ye have deserved. After which Judgment given they kneeled down, and then the Mayor, with weeping Tears, thanked the King for the bounty and goodness, and besought him to be a good and gracious Lord to the City, and unto them as his faithful Subjects: Whereunto the King made no Answer, but rose straight up, and so went his way, leaving them there. Anon as the King was departed, they were all arrested and kept there till they had found Surety, and every Alderman of them discharg'd of his Ward and Office, that they had within the City. But shortly after they put in Sureties, and so returned heavily to *London*. Shortly after was *William Fitz Richard* by the K. Commandment made Mayor, & *Thomas Fitz Thomas* and *William Grapsysgate* Sheriffs.

After this, day by day the Chamberlain was call'd to Account before *John Mansell* of all such Tolls, as were gathered in the time of the Mayoralty of *John Telesham*, and *Ralph (Richard) Hardell*, there being present to hear

the said Account divers of the Commonalty of the City, but none of the Heads. By which Account no default might be laid to any of the forenamed persons convicted before the King. By reason whereof divers of them were admitted to the King's favour shortly after, and restor'd to their Offices again, but not without paying of money, whereof the certainty is not known, saith my Author.

What a broil was here? What endeavours us'd to find faults, to set the King at difference with his Loyal Citizens, and keep them from Reconciliation? A Bed-roll of Crimes and Offences devised, made and formed, and none to own it, lest they themselves should at last be punish'd for those wrong Accusations, which they had laid to other mens charges, and could not well prove. What was this but to make divisions between the Commons and their Head Rulers? To pretend to oblige the one, and depress the other? Divide and Conquer was a Maxim put in use before ever *Machiavelli* was in being. What pray now was all this for? Was it not to weaken the City's Power? To make the Rich appear Offenders, and then seem to lay obligations upon them, by pardoning what they were never really and designedly guilty of? Or else to wring Money out of their hands, and yet persuade people that they were favourably dealt with? You may hence see their actions were in a manner wire-drawn to be made offences, and their Accounts searcht, to pick out somewhat to lay to their charge. And yet how visible were all the tricks and devices of ill men frustrated and disappointed the very same way, whereby they thought to have confirm'd and made good their malicious Designs; when, after all their searches, they were in short compel'd to approve the others faultless, without doubtless against their minds, wills, purposes, and intentions? How hard a matter had it been for the accused clearly to have defeated ill mens suggestions, had

not they themselves pay'd them the way, by searching into their accounts, where it seems no faults were to be found to make good their accusations? Let those transactions be brought into open Court, which before were wont to be done privately, and then all the present Auditors are made Judges of the reasonableness of the proceedings. Here were large imputations, and yet the accused suffered to go at freedom, and not clapt up, till they were frightened into submission. What! Could they get none to swear roundly against them? Never an outlandish Evidence, for love nor money, for fear, favour, nor affection, & then clap them up in Prison, not letting them see the faces of their Accusers? Why did not they search their houses, seiz'd upon their Trunks and Boxes, and so rake into their private Writings, to ferret out some Crimes out of them; or else, in defect thereof, privily foist in something criminal and blameworthy, and afterwards openly produce it, and with full cry and loud exclamations, impose the belief thereof on their credulous Partizans, as if really found up on them? We need not stay for the revolution of *Plato's* year, expecting former Transactions to be acted over again. Are any of us such strangers in *Jerusalem*, as not to know the things which have come to pass there in the latter days?

As the Heads of the City in this *Richard Hardell's* Mayoralty had their share of troubles and afflictions, as hath been related above, so the Commons were not without their care likewise: For Wheat is said this year to have been so scarce, that it was sold at *London* at 24 s. a Quarter. Scarcity of Corn in those days made this a considerable sum. Dearer we are told it would have been, had not some been brought out of another Country which made People flock to the City, because 'twas cheaper there than in many Shires of *England*.

This is the year wherein the K. kept his high Court of Parliament at *Oxford*, which of some Writers is named



the mad Parliament; because of many Acts there made for Reformation of the State, the prosecution of which prov'd in event the death and destruction of many Noble Men, by means of that famed strife then begun, and called at this day the Barons War. True, the accidental Consequences proved fatal to many: But if unfortunate broils give to any Laws the denomination of evil, I know not but in time some may grow so presumptuously bold, as upon the like account prophanely to brand even the Christian Religion, which we have been assured at first from the divine Oracles, should prove the occasion of much strife in the world, and the Experience of these latter times confirm it plain enough to our Understandings. Whether the forementioned Parliament justly and really deserves the opprobrious Title, that some have given it, I shall very willingly submit to the Judgment of any experienc'd Reader, who hath thoroughly perused, weighed, and considered the Equity, Justice, and reasonableness of the *English* Liberties and Priviledges, contained in the grand Charter, sealed and given to the Nation by K. *John*, Father to this *Hen.* 3d. which was confirmed in this very same *Oxford* Parliament, according to *Matthew Paris*, as the chief thing then desired and insisted on by the Nobles, and whereon were likewise grounded the other Acts and Ordinances then, and there, made by the King and his Lords. For that the King, his Brethren, the Noblemen and Barons, took their Oaths to see the same observed, I appeal to *Stow's Annals* for proof.

That these Acts might be kept firm and stable, we read of 12 Peers then chosen, to whom Authority was given, to correct all such as offended in breaking of these Ordinances and others, by the said Peers to be devised and ordered, touching and concerning the same matter and purpose. It was not long after the end of this Parliament, before strife and variance began to kindle be

between the King and the Earls of *Leicester* and *Glocester*, by reason of such Officers as the Earls had removed, and put others in their room. Amongst which *John Mansell* (of whom enough is mentioned above) was discharged of his Office, and *Sir Hugh Bygot* admitted for him. Upon occasion of this difference beginning to arise between the King and his Barons, we meet with an eminent Instance of the City's Power and esteem, for when the Peers heard of the murmur at Court, fearing that the King would be advised to alter his Promise, to make their party the stronger, they are said to have come about *Maudlinside* to the *Guild-Hall* at *London*, where the Mayor, Aldermen, and Commonalty of the City were assembled, to whom they shewed an Instrument or Writing, (at which hung many Labels with Seals, as the King's Seal, *Edward* his Son's Seal, with many others of the Nobles of the Land.) wherein were contained the Articles ordained and made at *Oxford*, willing (as saith the Book) the Mayor and Aldermen, (considering the said Acts were made to the Honour of God, Fidelity to the King, and profit of the Realm,) that they would also in upholding of the same set their common Seal of the City thereto. After this Request the Mayor and Citizens at first indeed desired to be excused, till they knew the Kings Pleasure; but no excuse at that time being to be granted, at last, by the labour of the Lords, and such solicitors as they had within the City, the common Seal was put to the forementioned Writing, and the Mayor, with divers of the City, sworn to maintain the same, their Allegiance saved to the King, with preservation of their Liberties and Franchises.

After this obtain'd we find the 12 Peers assembling day by day, (as if now they feared no colours, the City being on their side, and valued no ones Threats,) keeping their Councils and Courts for the Reformation of old grievances, removing from the King divers of his

Menial

Menial Servants, and setting others in their places; and moreover a Proclamation comes forth, that none of the Kings Takers should take any thing within the City without the owners will, (except a small customary matter therein excepted) upon which what the Kings Officers took, was straight paid for within the City and Liberty of the same, and so continued to be for a while. Can any one then desire a better proof of the City's repute in those days? Yet within few years following we shall meet with more Instances of her power in the History. In the 42d year Sir *Hugh Bygot*, with *Roger Turkelay*, and others, kept his Court at *St. Saviours*, and held there the *Itinerary Pleas*, to the fore punishment of many convicted offending Officers. Though this *Hugh Bygot* was put in by the Peers to reform (as may be supposed) old grievances, yet power seems to have made him also go astray, or else corruption, or to colloque with another party. Whereof the City in General was like to have tasted deeply, could he have had his Will. Some of the particular Citizens scaped him not; for he summoned the Citizens to the aforesaid Court, for Tolls taken on the further side of the Water: And though it was answered, that they were taken lawfully, and they were ready to prove it in places and Court convenient within the Precinct of their Liberty. Yet notwithstanding he charged upon Inquest 12 Knights of *Surry* to enquire thereof, who acquitted the Citizens, and shewed that the said Toll belonged to them of Right. Afterwards coming to *Guild-Hall*, he kept his Court and Pleas there, (according to my Author) without all order of Law, and contrary to the Liberties of the City, inflicting new punishments on the Bakers, and ordering many things at his Will.

This year the Citizens had opportunity of shewing their Respect to the Kings Brother, *Richard* Earl of *Cornwall*, coming over from beyond Sea (where he had been

been dealing in the affairs of the Empire) unto *London*, where he was joyfully received, the City being richly hang'd with Silk and Arras. In the 43<sup>d</sup> year *John Gisors* being Mayor, and *John Adrian*, and *Robert Cornhill* Sheriffs, *Fryday* after *Simon* and *Jude's* day we hear of the reading in the Parliament kept at *Westminster*, in presence of all the Lords and Commonalty, at sundry times, of all the Acts and Ordinances made at *Oxford*, with other Articles added by the Peers. After which reading we find all those very solemnly accursed, that attempted in word or deed to break the said Acts, or any of them.

The Form of the Curse which was most solemnly denounced against the Violaters and Infringers of *Magna Charta*, is to be seen in *Matthew of Paris*; and this here intimated was in probability much like that, which I find in a modern Author thus Englished.

**B**y the Authority of God Omnipotent, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, and of the glorious Mother of God the Virgin Mary, and of the blessed Apostles Peter and Paul, and of all other Apostles, and of the holy Martyr and Archbishop Thomas, and of all the Martyrs, and of the blessed Edward, King of England, and of all Confessors and Virgins, and of all the Saints of God: We excommunicate, and Anathematize, and sequester from our holy Mother the Church, all those which henceforth knowingly and maliciously shall deprive or spoil the Church of her right; and all those that shall by any Art or Wit rashly violate, diminish or change, secretly or openly, in deed, word or Counsel, by crossing in part or in whole, those Ecclesiastical Liberties or ancient approved Customs of the Kingdom, especially the Liberties and free Customs which are contained in the Charters of the Common Liberties of England, and the Forrests granted by our Lord the King to the Archbishops, Bishops, Prelates, Earls, Barons, Knights and Freeholders. And all those who have published, or be-  
ing

ing published have observed any Statutes, Ordinances, or any thing against them, or any thing therein contained, which have brought in any Customs to the contrary, or observed them being brought in, and all Writers of such Ordinances, or Councils, or Executioners, and all such as shall presume to judge according to such Ordinances: All and every such Persons as are, or at any time shall be, knowingly guilty of any such matters shall, ipso facto, incur the Sentence: & such as are ignorantly guilty shall incur the same if being admonished, they within 15 days after amend. For everlasting memory whereof we hereunto put our Seal.

Thus far the words of the Curse: Nor was the manner of pronouncing less solemn in open Parliament. The King with all the chief Nobility of the Realm in their Robes, and the Bishops in their Vestments, with burning Tapers in their Hands, standing to hear this curse read, and immediately as soon as the Charters and Curse were read, and signed, all throwing down their Tapers extinguished, and smoaking, cry out, *So let all those who incur this Sentence, and go against this Curse, be extinct, and have no better savour than these Snuffs:* And then the King, having stood all this while with his hand upon his Breast, said with a loud voice, *So God me help, I will observe all these things sincerely and faithfully, as I am a man, as I am a Christian, as I am a Knight, and as I am a King crowned and anointed.*

But what could any one think these so solemn Curses would avail, without a suitable Power and strength of Arms to make them good *per force*? When as it was known, that there lived in those days a Clergy-man at Rome, who pretended to dispense even with the Almighty's Laws, whose Power was at that time openly professed to be believed sufficient by the generality of Europe, to absolve all manner of Oaths and Covenants, and from whom Dispensations more than a good man might be had for Money. The confirmation of the for-

mentions

mentioned Acts we may believe well paid for by the Parliament: For we read of a Tax called Scutage, that is, 40 s. of every Knights Fee through *England*, then granted to the King, which extended to a large sum of Money, viz. Six score Thousand Pounds or more. For upon occasion of this large Tax, I find the number of the Knights Fees in *England*, at those days in possession of Spirituality and Temporality, summ'd up by my Author to 60000 l. and above. Upon supposition that the Clergy paid nothing, it is said that the Tax would not have amounted over the sum of 64000 l. whereupon we may guess what a deal of the Land, even almost one half, was then belonging to the Clergy. Devotion (as the times went then) brought forth Riches, and the Daughter since devoured the Mother. Now the 6th we are told the King came to *St. Pauls*, and commanding a Folk-moot to be assembled, according to the former Ordinances made, asked license of the Commonality of the City to pass the Sea, and promised there in presence of a great multitude of People, that he would be a good and gracious Lord unto the City by the mouth of Sir *Hugh Bygot*, Chief-Justice, and to maintain their Liberties unhurt; whereupon the People for joy made an exceeding shout. Observe here the turn of things, the Courtiers seem to have sought, not long time since to oppress the Head Rulers of the City, by a Folk-moot of the Commons: Now the King to prevent the effect of ill mens advice, hath bound himself to ask their leave, before he goes out of the Land for a season. E're while the Folk-moot or Common-Hall was abused to serve for a property, to destroy their own Cities Liberties. Now the conservation of the whole Nations welfare is put into their hands. What greater Evidence can be demanded to prove this Honourable Cities Power and Influence, than to find the Citizens entrusted by King, Lords and Commons, with so high a charge?

We

We may presume the Reason of entrusting the Commons of the City with so large a Grant, as the King could not pass the Sea without License first obtained of them, was to prevent the Evil and Mischief, that might happen to the Land by advice of ill Counsellors who might be persuading the King at every turn to go out of the Realm, he having also Lands beyond the Sea that they might have the better opportunity to work out their own ends, though to the Peoples oppression in his absence. What trouble, affliction and oppression the land suffered, under this Kings Uncle *Richard* the first's Imprisonment, at the Hands of the Kings Officers who rak'd and pill'd what they could of Clergy and Laity, on pretence of raising Money for the Kings Redemption, I had rather send the Reader back to *pag.* to satisfy himself, where I have related somewhat of the charge of the Kings Ransom, than stay to repeat it over again. A fuller description the curious may meet with in *Neubrigensis, l. 4. cap. 35.* treating particularly thereof. Some I believe may have observed in these unsettled times, that they have fared much better, and more easily avoided the malicious attempts of their Fellow Subjects, who have liv'd as it were in the Sunshine of the Kings presence, than such, who being many scores, may be Hundreds of Miles distant, have liv'd (for phrase it) in the shadow.

I know not but the presence of the head Governour as needful always in the Land, as is the General in the Army. Certain enough it is by the History, that when this King *Henry* was thus absent from his Kingdom, and busied other ways in *France*, that Dissention arose in *England*, between the Kings Son *Edward*, and the Earl of *Gloucester*, which might have immediately brought no small trouble to the Land; had not there been great endeavours used to prevent it, wherein this Honourable City shew'd much of her care and vigilance. What

the occasion of this difference was I have not yet read,  
 but to appease it I find a Counsellor of the Lords called  
*Westminster* (*Fabian* gives it likewise the Title of a  
 Parliament) which continued Three weeks and more.  
 To this Council came the Lords with great companies,  
 particularly the two contesting Parties, intending it seems  
 to have lodg'd within the City. So desirous, so ambi-  
 tious of pretending to *London's* favour, that such seem  
 to have thought the bare lodging therein might have  
 added to their strength. But upon the Mayors consult-  
 ing with such, as the King had left Rulers in his Ab-  
 sence, and through the advice of the King's Brother, it  
 was concluded that neither the said *Edward*, nor the said  
 Earl should come into the City there to lodge, nor any  
 that held upon either side. And further it was provi-  
 ded, that all within the City, of the Age of 15 years,  
 and above, should be in Arms, to watch and keep the  
 City day and night, and that the Gates should be kept  
 shut by day, and certain men in Arms keep every Gate  
 of the City. For the further safeguard of the City, and  
 for keeping of the Peace therein, the aforementioned  
 Rulers came into *London*, and there lodged with their  
 companies, and such other persons as they assigned to  
 strengthen the City, if need required. Do people de-  
 ceive themselves with mathematical Demonstration? Look here and see,  
 what care's taken to keep the City safe, and harmless,  
 and in Peace, as if then the Land must needs be in  
 quiet too: Preserve the City and its just Liberties, and  
 when the Nations Quietness, Peace, and Safeguard is  
 strongly secured. Behold here the Eyes of the Nation  
 fix'd upon the City of *London*, and her Actions, and  
 there's the party that dare strike, while she Guards  
 steps and preserves the Kings Peace, while he is  
 pleased to busie himself in foreign Countries? Such as  
 will not believe, but what they see, and so know, let  
 them here credit their own Eyes, if they be not Popish  
 Tran-



Transubstantiators, or shut them to keep the light on. After the King was returned to *London* from beyond the Sea, by his order, many of their lodgings were altered, direction was taken between the aforesaid contesting Parties, and a new Assembly of Parliament signed.

*Anno 44. William Fitz Richard* being Mayor, *Adam Browning, Richard Coventre*, Sheriffs, after *Candlemas* by the Kings Command, a Folk-Moot was called at *Pauls-Cross*, whither he came in person, with his Brother *Richard*, King of the *Romans*, and many other Nobles, and commanded the Mayor, that every Stripling of 12 Years and above, should before his Aldermen be sworn the day following, to be true to the King, and his Heirs, Kings of *England*, and that the Gates of the City should be kept with armed Men, before was determined. Not long after this we read of more suspicions of a breach between the King and his Barons, which in few years broke out into an open War.

What did all this swearing then avail? Those among the Children of men, who look abroad into the world, take notice of the common course of the Generality of living, or are much conversant with the Monuments of the dead may find it no very difficult matter to observe that let men take never so many Oaths, make never so many Covenants, Promises, and Compacts, that if they come to have Apprehensions, that those, to whom they have sworn themselves, endeavour to make use of the religious Ties, and Obligations, designed at first for mutual preservation, to encroach upon their Liberties, deprive them of their Priviledges, their Property, their Birth-rights, to the enslaving of them and the whole Posterity, all former Subscriptions, Oaths, Vows, Promises, Pacts and Covenants, will scarce avail against with the most. But if Experience should chance to be legitim

legitimate their doubts and Fears by the others actual  
endeavours in the open face of the World, it is rarely  
seen, but that, notwithstanding past transactions, they  
will make the greatest opposition, they can, against  
the others arbitrary pretences: And so all former re-  
ligious Bonds are snapt asunder like Tow burnt by the  
Fire. They who imposed Oaths for such ill intents,  
might have considered, if they pleased, that many in  
such cases would not have scrupled at all to have broke  
them; Or if any of the more devout had been a little  
nicer, they could not doubtless be ignorant in  
those days, what Remedies might have been bought  
for Money out of the Popes publick Store-house, if  
other common ways of Evasion would not have pass'd  
current with them. How many of that nature have  
pass'd up and down in the World, it may not be unwor-  
thy of our consideration sometimes to revolve in our  
minds, if it be a thing feasible to bring them within  
that compass. True indeed, (quoth the subtile Sophi-  
ster) I have sworn Allegiance, but a latter lesser Tie  
is invalid, when a greater Obligation lies upon me.  
True, an Oath lies upon me; but here's my Liberty,  
Life and Religion lying all at stake. I was born free;  
what can dispense with me to deprive me of my Birth-  
right? Life is sweet, Self-preservation is near and  
dear to me, by the Instinct of Nature. 'Tis natural to  
created Beings to defend their Lives against such as  
would destroy them: what then can oblige me to suf-  
fer my Life violently to be taken away by anothers in-  
jury, whenas I dare not deprive my self thereof by my  
own Endeavours, unless I will run into so foul an Ot-  
tence, so unnatural a Fact, as to proclaim my self to  
the World a Self-Murderer, and so force my Soul to  
fly out of my Body, before I know 'tis my Creator's  
Will she should? My Religion is to obey God above,  
and before Man; my Soul is his that gave it me, and  
I where's

where's the Obligation that can impower me justly to give away that which is not my own to bestow? Must my Religion, which I believe is according to the Law of the Almighty, stand or fall at another mans pleasure? Must I take the matter, manner, and height of my Devotions from the imperious dictates of another's Will and that too upon the account of my Oath? Must I destroy my Religion in effect, or else I cannot keep it in shew? Besides, know ye not that my Oath was conditional? Mutual Bonds make mutual Obligations. Service was vow'd, where Protection was promised and expected. Can any but an Idiot be supposed to swear away himself to be destroyed instead of being defended? Must I still pay Obedience upon account of former Covenants, where I cannot get due Protection, and have but little encouragement to expect it, though it was first promised, since that now thence I fear utter ruin and infallible destruction instead thereof? With such Inventions some may chance to be full, and it may be to make them seem more authentick, they can produce them under the Printer's Hand. 'Tis in Print, an Argument which may sometimes weigh much with such inconsiderate, inobserving Persons, who consider not how easie, how usual a thing it is to print Lies, as well as tell them. Nay, to make the deeper impression, they may happen to proceed so far, as to shew us the common custom and practice of many Kings and Princes, and endeavour to qualifie their own, by repeated instances and Examples of the publick Conscience, there be any such thing in nature, and it be not one of the fanciful Notions much in vogue, within the few years, among some high-flown *English* Clergy men who ambitiously desir'd to glory in the Title (forsook) of Rational Divines. Hereto some may possibly further add instances out of other Countries, where Towns and Cities, standing in the borders of Kingdoms and Principalities

cipalities, are often won and lost, and so pass to and fro from one state to another : And pertly ask us, what we think in our Consciences of all those, who this year took Oaths of Allegiance to one Prince; and the next year, being subdued by another, were made swear themselves his Subjects, and yet, upon a new Recovery or Treaty of Peace, being return'd to their first Sovereigns, could as willingly as ever swear over again their first Oath : Are such perjur'd or no? A hard case, being under such strait inconveniences. They fought, they resisted, they opposed the Conqueror as long as they could, and when neither they could defend themselves any longer, nor was their Prince there with power to defend them, they yielded and submitted to the Almighty's Decree, and their own hard irresistible Fate. Such it may be, and much more might a man of a nimble Wit urge upon the Gainsayer. But how many of these may fully satisfy a Conscience very tender and scrupulous, seems not to me so easily resolvable.

If these suffice not your thinking Minds, your wandering roving Thoughts, take a turn or two in the *Jesuits School*, and ransack the secret recesses and retirements thereof, it's an hundred to one, but you will there meet with Jesuitical dissimulation, doubtful equivocation, mental reservation, and Papal dispensation, with much of the like trash.

To these let be added that pretty new device, the Popish Doctrine of probability. So that when one at first dubiously propounds an unusual, uncouth Opinion, another comes after him, and lays it down more confidently, upon supposition that the first broacher had a good Reason in his view, although he has little or none; when in comes a third with a more brazen fac'd boldness, and positively affirms it good Doctrine, because the others forsooth, in his Opinion learned men, must be supposed not to have wanted Reason for what they

said, and then 'tis no matter whether he can see a glimpse of it or no, who can with so much facility pin his Faith upon another mans sleeve. How far this novel Doctrine may go, if fruitfully improv'd, to make the shadow of Religion fit for mens corrupt desires (since that they refuse so many of them to be brought up to the truth of Religion) any one may easily consider, who has any consideration at all in him.

But whosoever has so little Soul in him, as not to endure the Solitary Company of his own Thoughts, and is so enslaved to sense, as not to like any other Argument, let him apply himself to the Book call'd, *Les Provinciales*, or *The Mystery of Jesuitism*, written at first by a Papist, of the Doctrines of some Modern, especially Jesuitical Casuists, and its truth confirm'd by the reiterated Complaints of the French Church. In that Book the *English* Reader may see how fruitful a man of a corrupt wit (without Truth, Honesty, Religion, or Conscience,) may be in broaching novel Opinions, and raising strange Doctrines upon the new invented Foundation of Probability. What a new form of manners this new sort of Morality produces, in what kind of Practices these Principles end, the Depoartment of the late Jesuits at *Tyburn*, hath already shewn how far such debauched Principles have already went in debauching the manners of the Age; and how far further by degrees, they may bring us in time toward Popery and Slavery, I humbly offer to the consideration of the thinking Man about Town.

If the Society would be pleased to accept the Petition of an English Protestant, no Turk, Jew, nor Heathen, (as some would have us think the word might import) but Christian, it should be requested that since this old World is so already filled with new Doctrines of theirs and suitable Practices, they would transport the rest of their Inventions to the new World.

in the Moon, if they can find the place and the passage. I am pretty well assured, that World, if any be, is so much estranged as yet to the Jesuits and their Doctrines by reason of the distance, that there would be little room, and less likelihood for their reception, unless they beforehand transmit thither some of their new Divinity, to make way for gaining them some Renegado Profelites, weary of a good old way, and desirous of a new one, be it what it will. Why may not the Jesuits be as fruitful in finding out new Worlds, as making new Morals, new Saints, new Merits? What if I had also added, a new way of Atonement, a new Saviour, new Gospel? When you walk along through St. Paul's Church-Yard, or by any other noted Booksellers Shop, enquire for *Clari Bonarscii Amphitheatrum Honoris*. Or if you have no other than your English Mother-Tongue, ask for the Memoirs of Mr. *James Wadsworth*, a Jesuit that recanted, where in the second Chapter, besides many other Observations and collections out of Popish Authors, you may find pag. 23. part of a Poem taken out of the foresaid Book, good enough for the form, though sufficiently bad for the matter, wherein the prophane Author at least equals the Virgin *Mary's* Milk to our blessed Saviour's Blood, if he does not rather seem to make the Milk exceed that most pretious Blood in Virtue. You may there read it turned in part in *English Verse*, with remarks thereon, together with some more of their Doctrines, and also extractions out of the Romish Psalter: And further in the same Chapter, this *Clarus Bonarscius* (otherwise called *Carolus Scribonius*) is said to be a Jesuit living at *Antwerp*, and of much account amongst them, the Author and his Book standing enroll'd, approv'd, and commended for good and Catholick, in *Posssevines* Volumns of Writers, set out with publick allowance of the Romish State. If then this be not the

bringing in of a new Religion, a new way of Salvation, what is? What think ye then? Do not these Jesuits for their new Principles and Practices deserve to meet with an harder Fate, than did the unfortunate though ingenious *Galileo*, who for that famous Invention of his Glass, and hints given of looking after a World in the Moon, was made to suffer (as my Memory tells me I have somewhere read,) an hard Imprisonment, under the Notion of Heresie, on supposition that a new World would imply a new Saviour?

Such having been the navel Inventions of these corrupt, *i. e.* Jesuitical Wits, what then remains, ye true hearted *English* Men, but that abhorring their debauched Principles and Practices, though not hating the Persons, you endeavour to keep your selves far enough off from men so much given to change? Who have been thus endeavouring to change the good of Religion and Doctrines, by their new fangled Devices and new Morals, to proselite the more to Atheism and Debauchery. Who have plotted to change your Religion and your Laws, to change Protestantism into Popery, a free Government into absolute Tyranny; to change your Liberties into Slavery, and many of your Freeholds into Tenant-Lands, to a vicious Clergy and a Popish Church. What else meant a late Papist at his Tryal, who hath been reported, under the Liberty allowed by our Laws of excepting against Thirty Five of the Jury without Reason shewn, to have accepted only against one, and that as being an Impriator, *alias* a Possessor of Church-Lands? If there were not such a Report, then my Memory imposes on me; if the Report was not true, Fame hath proved deceitful, or else I mistook her Relation.

So much Atheism and Irreligion having already been introduced among us, and such the Tendencies to the further debauching Mens Minds and Manners, who

ther then it would not be much better (when it shall seem good to our Governours, to King, Lords and Commons assembled in the right Parliamentary way) to casheer all needless unnecessary Oaths, and reduce the too too common custom of swearing upon every trivial occasion into a far lesser compass, judge ye. What signifies so much swearing at every turn, whenas other ways might be doubtless found out in many cases, to search out the truth with as much, if not more certainty? Might not less swearing, and severer Penalties upon lying sometimes serve the turn? It is plain enough, our Neighbours the Hollanders are none of the least experienced People in the World: Among them have I read 'tis usual for the Judges, without giving Oaths, to search out the truth by sudden cross questions, wherein much practice hath made them very dextrous and skilful. And so they do as it were trepan the Trepanners, if I may use the Expression without offence. What esteem can any one think an Oath is with a man, that counts his words but breath, and his Soul Air? Will that man value the swearing of an Oath before a Magistrate, that prophanely can rap you out an hundred upon any occasion in common Discourse, without the least Remorse; or else is of the Popish Priest's Opinion, that swearing upon an English Bible is no more than swearing upon *Aesop's Fables*, i. e. a story Book, containing Tales of Cocks and Bulls, and the like? So likely to be true is it, that some men play with Oaths as Children with Rattles, a saying or somewhat like to what I have heard imputed to *Machiavel*. Let such sometimes seriously consider, who have had an hand in imposing so many Oaths of late Years, whether they may not one day be called to account for some of the many Perjuries others may have occasionally run into thereby. The huding up of so many sorts of Creeds and Doctrines together into one Vo-



lumn, and then compelling men under great Penalties to make Declarations and Subscriptions to them, has not been the least burden, needlessly laid upon Men's Consciences, in some places of the World. Even the Creed commonly call'd the Apostles, though one of the most Authentick, clearest and shortest, is not yet altogether void of Scruples, witness the difference amongst the learned about Christs descent into Hell. The far shorter Creed ushered in the *Ethiopian Eunuch's* Baptism. I could name, in fitting time and place, some of the most common Oaths among us, and which many of the most serious would not probably scruple to take on good account, which nevertheless are not so accurately, exactly, and cautiously composed, but a Conscience very scrupulous and tender, might be liable to doubts and fears in taking and keeping them. Is not all this adoe, so much father'd upon Religion, too often really designed to turn men out of beneficial employments, that others may be let in, and sometimes proves a Snare to many tender Consciences? If a matter be honest and lawful, a truly serious good man will do it without an Oath: If he esteems it otherwise, he will not take it, nay, he will rather throw up than wrong his Conscience. And I think he has no reason besides Scripture on his side, though he should happen to be in an Errour: For he that for Interest, or favour does any thing wittingly against his Conscience, in itself erroneous, and he not knowing it to be so, seems to me plainly to manifest, that he would be the same, though his Conscience were in the right. How for an ill man, a prophane man, an Atheist, what can he how many Oaths he takes, after he is once in the Head and Ears, over Shoes, over Boots, so it be for his secular advantage? When Oaths, Covenants, Subscriptions, Declarations, and such like, at every turn and change of the times come thick and threedy

one upon another, thwarting and crossing each other, what shall the real honest hearted man do but refuse them, and so turn himself out, to the letting in men many times of ill Principles, and worse Practices, into the places of publick Trust? How then are things likely to go in any Land, when they fall into the Hands of such prophane Debauchees, who are too too often thus introduced over better mens Heads, and sometimes it may be designedly to serve turns? Have we never heard nor read of a time, when men of debauched Practices and Principles were sought purposely after? When it was a sufficient Objection against a man's pre-  
 erment, that he was serious and religious, a little more perhaps than ordinary? Thus the wicked oft plotteth against the Righteous, who feareth an Oath, much more Oaths upon Oaths, lest he should be entangled and ensnared by the words of his Mouth. For breaking a lawful Oath, solemnly taken before God and Man, to our English Ears sounds Perjury, in whatsoever Degree, Rank, and Quality, of any Nation, Country, Sect, or Faction, from the King that sitteth upon his throne, to the Captive in the Dungeon, not to vary upon a Scripture Expression in another Case. I doubt not but an Oath is very lawfully imposed in some cases, and is of good avail oftentimes between Man and Man; whether to find out the truth thereby, is so sure and safely practicable among the Men of these days, I can hardly propose to the better Judgment of more experienced Heads to determine.

How happy might the times prove, were all men as servant of their Oaths, as *Joshua* and the Princes of *Israel* were of the League they solemnly made with the *Gibeonites*! And yet they were plainly trapped and treunto with a great deal of Guile, Fraud, and lying conceit. What plausible pretences to have broken this ancient Covenant, might they have raised from a former  
 Com-

Command of their God, not to spare any of the *Canaanites*, nor league with them, from the notorious shame these fraudulent *Gibeonites* Ambassadors put upon them by their lying words, and from the murmuring of the whole Congregation against them? Notwithstanding all this, we find they let them live, lest Wrath should have been upon them, because of the Oath they had sworn unto them. And that they did well in keeping this so solemn a league and Covenant, though obtained by Fraud and hastily made, we have divine Authority to assure us from the Lord, in the Three Years Famine he sent upon the Land in King *David's* Days for *Saul*, and his bloody House, because, in his Zeal to the Children of *Israel* and *Judah*, he sought to slay the *Gibeonites*, and so violated the Oath made by their Forefathers hundreds of years before. We cannot, without the greatest breach of Charity, suppose, that so holy a Man as *David*, one after Gods own Heart, made use of this only as a pretence to ruine and exterminate *Saul's* Family, and settle the Crown the faster on his own Head, and to fix it the surer to his posterity after him. If any of us were so Atheistical, as from this instance to look upon Religion as only a piece of State Policy, our Suspicious Thoughts and Censures would be soon answered from *David's* own manner of acting in this particular, who is recorded to have spared the Son of *Jonathán*, *Saul's* eldest Son, and that too upon account of the Lord's Oath, that was sworn between them many Years before. As the Scriptures plainly shew us, that *Joshua* and the Princes of *Israel* did well in keeping the Oath, they had sworn, though drawn into it by Fraud and Deceit, so in them we find, how ill it fared with *Zedekiah*, the last King in *Jerusalem* after he had broken the Oath, which *Nebuchadnezzar* had made him swear by God. We doubt not but that there was force enough upon him to compel him, and

it may be the price of a Kingdom likewise induced him thereto, for the benefit of his present occasions; but how ill went it with *Judab* for his breaking that Oath, by whatsoever force at first gained of him, even to the destruction of the chief City, solitary desolation of the Land for many Years, and utter ruine of the Monarchy for ever after? For after the Captivity we find it reduced back again into a kind of Commonwealth, under Rulers, (and but one of them of *David's* Line mentioned in the Scriptures, that I remember) Governours, the high Priests, the Maccabees, the Sanhedrim unto the coming of *Shilo*. So fatal to the Jewish Nation was their Princes Irreligion. There is no respect of Persons with the Almighty, at whose Tribunal all must once stand to be judged, High and Low, Rich and Poor, Noble and Ignoble, Kings, Princes, and People, as sure as the Scripture, which we esteem the word of the great God, is infallibly true. But whither has the overflowing of my thoughts carried me?

To go back again therefore into the way, from whence I have so far deviated: In this same 44th year of King *Henry*, (wherein he commanded all of Twelve Years and upwards in *London* to swear to be true to him and his Heirs) we read of further grudge and displeasure beginning to kindle between the King and his Lords. The occasion is related to be, for that the Barons, with consent of the Peers, discharged one, and admitted another for Justice unwitting the King. The displeasure hence arising and encreasing more and more, was however a little appeased for a while, by the Policy of the Kings Brother, and some Prelates of the Land. In this Year the Chronicler thought it worthy remark to make mention of the variance, that fell out between the *Londoners* and the men of *Northampton*, at a Fair there held, for a man of that Town there slain, which occasioned

occasioned a long Suit and Plea between them, to the great vexation and trouble of both Parties, wherein in the end the City had the better. That City, that was able to make a Contest with the King's whole Court, is likely enough to match a particular Town.

In the 45th, shortly after *Alballontide*, the Barons admitted and made Sheriffs of divers Shires, naming them Guardians and Keepers of the Counties and Shires, and discharged such as the King had before admitted. Neither would they suffer the Justices, but such as were of their own admission, to keep the Itinerary Pleas. The Law allowed them power, and they were resolved it seems to use it. The King, as any may easily suppose, was grievously discontented therewith, inasmuch (as saith the Chronicle) that after that Season, he laboured what he might to disannul the former Ordinances and Statutes, and cause them to be broken. To this end on the second *Sunday* in *Lent* was read by the King's Command at *Paul's Cross*, a Bull of Pope Urban the 4th, as a Confirmation of another Bull, before purchased of his Predecessor *Alexander* the 4th, to absolve the King, and all others, that before had sworn to maintain the Articles made at *Oxford*; and afterwards the said Absolution was shewed throughout *England*, *Wales*, and *Ireland*, streight charge being given to all that none be so hardy to withstand or disobey the said Absolution: And if any were found disobedient to this Commandment, that he should be put in Prison without Ransom or Deliverance, till the Kings Pleasures were further known. The Pope could pretend to absolve on either side, if he were well paid. What then could any Oaths be supposed to avail without sufficient Power to compel their Observance? Yet hitherto the Commons of the City held their Power formerly granted them: For we read of another License given to the King at a Folk-Moot to sail into *France*.

according to the

According whereunto he departed the morrow following from London.

Anno 46. *Thomas Fitz Thomas* being Mayor, *Philip Walbrook*, *Richard Taylor* Sheriffs, about Martinide the Jews felt the Peoples Fury to some of their costs: so odious was that Nation grown in many parts of the World since our Saviour's Crucifixion, which had been formerly the darling of Heaven, that it must have been a very small matter, that would not easily have stirred up the common People of the Land, where they lived, against them. In this Year is unkindness noted to have arisen between the *Londoners* and the Constable of the Tower, for that contrary to the Cities Liberties he took certain Ships, passing by with Wheat and other Victuals, into the Tower, and made the Price at his Pleasure. Hence might great harm have ensued, had not, by the Policy of wise men, the matter been committed to the Chief Justice and others, by direction of the Kings Council, to set an order and Rule between the said Parties. The effect whereof was, that after Evidences and Priviledges produced to the advantage of both, it was firmly adjudged, that if the Constable, or any other Officer of the Tower, would at any time take any Wheat or Victuals, to the use of the King, or the Tower, he should come into the City Market, and have it two Pence in a Quarter within the Mayors Price, and other Victuals after the same rate: And if he, or any of his Officers would do contrary to that Ordinance, that then the Sheriffs should make report to the Kings Council, and withhold him in all that they might, so that the King's Peace were kept. Here was Authority given to act against some commissioned by the King. What folly is it for every mean petty Officer to think to thwart this powerful City, and hope to be too hard for her Citizens, when their Liberties, Priviledges, and Franchises are concerned?

This

This year silent murmurs passed up and down the Land of War, that was too likely to ensue between the King and his Lords in short process of time for the Bull of Dispensation before shewed in the Realm: But the mediation of good and wise men appeased and stilled those Emotions for a while, that the King agreed again to the maintenance of the afore said Statutes, and sent his Writs, wherein the said Articles were comprised, into all the Shires of *England*, giving strict Commandment to all men, to observe and keep the same, and such other as were to them joined by the discretion of some appointed to that end. But this again was shortly after revoked and denied. What Change in Councils, what Uncertainty and Fickleness of Mind was this? Give, and grant, and then recal: What could be thought the end of this variableness but Strife and Contention? Hereupon the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, a Star in that conjuncture of the first Magnitude in the *English* Firmament. proves erratick: For fearing what might ensue, like a cunning, subtle, worldly Politician, he makes an Errand to *Rome*, and by License of both Parties departs the Land, and so keeps himself out till the trouble was over. He had been a main Instrument a few years ago in Cursing the Breakers of the aforementioned Acts. Should he have sided with the Kings Party, he had openly contradicted his former Actions, and in effect declared all his so solemn Curses to signifie nought. Had he sided with the Barons, he must have shewn himself an Assenter to their deeds, partaken of all the Changes and Chances of War, and publicly slighted and contemned the Popes Dispensation. A crime in those days of very dangerous Consequence to the offending Party. Upon *Midlent Sunday* the Mayor and Commons being present at a Folk-Moost held at *Paul's Cross*, before Sir *Philip Bassett*, and others

of the Kings Council, the Mayor was sworn to be true to the King, and his Heirs Kings. Upon the morrow at *Guild-Hall* every Alderman is said to have taken the same Oath in presence of the Mayor: And so likewise upon the *Sunday* following, we read that every Stripling, of the Age of 12 Years and above, was anew charged with the same Oath before his Alderman in his Ward.

Then (according to my Author) the Displeasure between the King and his Barons, which a long while had been kept secret, began to appear, insomuch that diverse of them assembled in the Marches of *Wales*, gathered unto them strong Power, and sent a Letter unto the King, under the Seal of Sir *Roger Clyfford*, beseeching him to have in remembrance the Oath, and manifold Promises that he had made, for the observing of the Statutes made at *Oxford*, with other Ordinances made to the Honour of God, for Faith and Allegiance to his Person, Weal and Profit of all his Realm, willing him further to withstand and defie all such Persons, as will be against the said Acts, saving the Queen and her Children. After this Letter thus sent, and no Answer received, we read of the said Barons going with Banners displayed against such, as they knew held against the Acts so often before mentioned. The effect of their Fury at *Hereford*, the Bishop, and many of his Canons, Aliens born, soon felt to their great cost and damage. Hence we hear of their going to other places, where they supposed to find their Enemies, keeping their course towards *London*, (this was the place, it seems, they desired so much to fix to their Party) bearing before them a Banner of the Kings Arms, and encreasing with the access of much People, as they held on in their Journey. In this March, as they found any that they knew to be against the Maintenance of the aforesaid Acts, they imprisoned them,



them, and spoiled their Habitations, were they Spiritual or Temporal Men, all the case to them at the time. In divers of the King's Castles they set in such Persons as they pleased, (putting out such as were placed in by the King) and gave to them an Oath, that they should be true and faithful to the King, and keep those Castles to his Use, and to the Weal of the Realm. Here they seem to have outdid the Courtiers in their own way. The Mayor, Aldermen, and others of *London*, were made of late to renew the Oaths of Allegiance to the King and his Heirs, as if to weaken the Barons Party, by a crafty sly insinuation that they went about to deprive the King and his Heirs of their Right. But as for those suggestions to hold the Barons disappointing them, by giving them like Oaths to these of their own Party put into place of publick Trust, and thereby in effect declaring, that 'twas not against the King, but against the ill Ministers of State about him, whom they deemed the Authors of ill Advice, that they thus took up Arms, either to remove them, or deliver the King out of such mens hands.

About *Midsummer*, when they drew near to *London*, the Chronicle tells us, that they sent a Letter unto the Mayor, and Aldermen, under the Seal of Sir *Simon Mountford*, willing to know of them whether they would observe the Acts and Statutes made in the Parliament called at *Oxford* or not, or else would aid and assist such persons as intended the breach of the same, and sent to them a Copy of the said Acts, with a proviso that if any there specified, were to the hurt of the Realm, or common-Weal of the same, that they should by discreet Persons of the Land should be altered, and amended. See here the Influence the City had upon the Land, the esteem the Barons had of *London's* Power and Authority, and how desirous they were to assure

to their side and Interest. The forementioned Copy was by the Mayor carried to the King, then being at the Tower, accompanied with his Queen, his Brother *Richard, Edward* his Son, and others of his Council. Then the King, intending to know the Cities Mind, asked the Mayor what he thought of those Acts and Ordinances, who, being refused time and leave to confer with his Brethren the Aldermen, and his Judgment demanded at that present season, stands upon Record to have boldly answered the King, that before-times he, with his Brethren, and the Commonalty of the City, by his Commandment, had been sworn to maintain all Acts made to the Honour of God, to the Faith of the King, and Profit of the Realm; which Oath, by his license and most gracious favour, they intended to observe and keep. One of the Ingredients that, according to the Royal Psalmist, goes to the composition of a Citizen of *Zion*, who shall abide in the Lords Tabernacle, and dwell in his Holy Hill, is, that he changeth not, though he sweareth to his own hurt. And moreover (continued the Mayor) to avoid all occasion, that might grow, of grudge or variance between him and his Barons within the City, they would put all Aliens and Strangers out thereof, if he were so contented. The King shewed as if he was well pleased with this Answer, so that the Mayor, with his favour, departed, and sent Answer to the Barons, according to the same, their Liberties alway upholden, and saved. The Barons lying so near *London*, and with so considerable a strength, 'twas time for those Nobles, who were against those Statutes, to be packing, as fast as they could, for fear of the associated Lords; But the King is said to have sent after them divers Persons of his Household, and of the Citizens of *London*, to induce them to return, and tarry with him. At that season, according to the Mayor's former words,

K

all

all Aliens, suspected of any favour owing to the one Party or the other, were put out of the City. Impartiality is rarely found among the Children of men, though it is so commendable a Virtue not to have respect of Persons. But not long after we hear of their being placed in Offices, many of them in *Windſor* Castle, by *Edward* the King's Son. So usual is it for contending Parties to receive and prefer one another's outcasts. No wonder then if we sometimes see the same done in private Families, when at variance among themselves, which is so oft acted over and over again in publick differences.

Then Watch and Ward was kept dayly in the City, and in the night certain assigned to ride about the Town, with some Foot-Men allotted to them, to search all the Town over: But hence harm ensuing by reason that evil disposed Persons, under colour of Watch-Men, seeking for strangers, robbed and spoiled many Houses in one part of the City, while the riding Watch was in another place, a standing Watch was ordained in every Ward. The mind of the City being made known by their publick Mouth, the Mayor 'twas time for men of a different Interest to endeavour to draw the King further off from it. Accordingly we find the King departs from the City, when he heard the Barons were coming into it. The Barons enter the City the *Sunday* before *St. Margaret's* day, and the King shortly after returns to *Westminster* with the Queen, and others of his Council. Soon after *Hugh le Spencer* is made Chief Justice, and Keeper of the Tower, by consent both of the King and the Barons. Upon the morrow following, *Maudlin Day* was a Writ directed to the Mayor and Aldermen charging them that the King's Peace be firmly kept within the City, for in the same it was expressed, that the King and his Barons were lovingly agreed. For

thermore

thermore in the same Writ it was commanded, that if within the Precincts of the City were any person or persons known, that would withstand the foresaid Ordinances and Statutes, that all such should be attached and put in Prison, and their Goods also attached for the King, till they knew his further Pleasure. Well had it been for many great persons, if this agreement had lasted longer; but, like other Worldly things, this new peace was also transitory. However here we meet with another instance of the Cities Concern, of the Cities Power, of the Cities Influence. 'Twas the Citizens concern to keep the Peace thus happily and quietly made. 'Twas their Power you here find engaged to see to it. And their Influence upon either party you may guess by the due care taken to inform them of the late mutual Agreement. In these days of Misrule, and time of the Barons residing in the City, we are given to understand, that many Robberies were committed by divers therein, and much harm done, but little corrected, they were to be born out and maintained by their Masters. Such is the too too common effect of Civil broils. The Commons of the City were far out of Rule by the incensing of riotous Persons, so that in the Assemblies and Courts kept at Guild-Hall, or other places, Worshipful men were little or nothing regarded, and simple, indiscreet persons carried away the voice.

As the City was in those days powerful, so the Lords seem well to have known it, when, to obtain the more favour of the Citizens, they willed them to shew them, if they had any of their Liberties withdrawn, that they might again to them be restored, and also to think of some new ones to their Weal and Profit, and they would labour to the King to have them granted. Can any one desire greater Evidence than Ocular Demonstration? The City had a great many good and bene-

ficial Liberties and Franchises already granted, to the  
 Emulation and Envy of many of her ill-willers. Yet  
 here our own Eyes may easily certifie us of a large offer  
 voluntarily made to her Citizens, by such as had  
 Power to encrease them, had they had the discretion  
 at that time to have made a good use of it. For the  
 Mayor having upon this kind offer assembled the Com-  
 mons at *Guild-Hall*, and willed the Officers to devise  
 such things as might be beneficial to the City, they  
 counselling together, are said to have made such a note  
 of Statutes, Provisions, and Ordinances, to their own  
 singular Profit, and so prejudicial to all other Foreign  
 Merchants coming to the City, to all other Fairs,  
 and Markets of *England*, and the universal Weal of  
 the Realm, that upon overseeing them the Heads told  
 them, they were neither lawful nor charitable, and  
 such as they knew would not be admitted. So com-  
 mon is it in too too many concerns for private Interest  
 to be brought up in the Van, while the publick is left  
 lagging behind, as it were a loof off, in the Rear. The  
 Heads of the City willing the Commons to devise o-  
 ther Ordinances, their first being so uncharitably or-  
 dered, and they, I know not upon what account, nor  
 upon whose Incitation, proving refractory and refu-  
 sing, both those and others, right necessary for the  
 Common-Weal of the City, were rejected and put off,  
 saith my Author. For men to go to logging of Bills,  
 when they cannot otherwise hinder their passing, is a  
 known Practice.

After *St. James's* day we hear of the Barons depar-  
 ture from *London* towards *Windsor*, where they turn-  
 ed out the Aliens, before plac'd therein by the King's  
 Son *Edward*, who thereupon, with other associates,  
 rode to the King with Complaints in their Mouths a-  
 gainst the Barons, for spoiling them of their Goods:  
 But these being then put off by the King with a pro-  
 mise

mise of Justice, till more of his Council were with him,  
 he, with other Attendants, sailed into *France*, whence  
 being returned after *Michaelmas* to *London*, there  
 passed an Inquest of Twelve Knights of *Middlesex*,  
 sworn upon a Jury, between the Abbot of *Westminster*  
 and the City, for certain Priviledges the Citizens of  
*London* claimed within *Westminster*, where, by the said  
 Jury, it was found before the Chief Baron of the Kings  
 Exchequer, that the Sheriffs of *London*, at those days,  
 might lawfully enter into the Town of *Westminster*,  
 and all other Tenements, that the Abbot had within  
*Middlesex*, and unto the Gate of the said Abby, and  
 there to make Summons, and distrain, for lack of Ap-  
 pearance, all and every Tenant of the said Abbot. 'Tis  
 not now adays only that the *Londoners* stand so strong  
 for their Priviledges, whatsoever some may think of  
 it, as if out of stubbornness and opposition. Their  
 Fore-Fathers were like-minded, and stood up cou-  
 ragiously in defence of their just Rights and Liberties  
 against Arbitrary Encroachers above Four Hundred  
 years ago, *Anno 1262*. After this the former Com-  
 plaint of the Aliens, and others, was declared before  
 the King and his Lords in the Parliament at *Westmin-*  
*ster*. This is the Term *Fabian* gives it, but whether  
 on the same account as he did before, when he ex-  
 pounded a Parliament by a Council of Lords in the  
 43d Year, *pag.* I am not so certain as positively to  
 determine. Here the Chronicle tells us it was at last  
 sentenced, (but by what means and Inducements is not  
 there set down) that the Barons should restore all such  
 Goods, as they and their Company had taken from all  
 Persons before that day, as well to Aliens as other men,  
 both Spiritual and Temporal, and also that such Meni-  
 al Servants as should be daily in the Kings House, and  
 about his Person, should be such as the King would  
 choose and admit himself: But the dissenting Barons

utterly rejected these Articles, whereupon the Fire of Dissention was again kindled between the King and those his Lords.

In the 47th Year, by procurement of the Barons, we are told that the Commons of *London* chose unto their Mayor for that Year *Thomas Fitz Thomas*, [*Robert Moumphere* and *Robert de Suffolk* were Sheriffs] and without Counsel of the Aldermen swore him at *Guild-Hall* upon *Simon* and *Jude's* day, and made no presentment of him the morrow following to the King, nor to the Barons of the Exchequer, as had been the custom: For which we may easily suppose the King was much discontented with the City. Whereupon the King perceiving the City would take the Barons part, having caused his Son to seize *Windfor* Castle by a Train, early in a Morning, a little before *Christmas*, he rode thither from *Westminster*, whither shortly after came also many of the Lords that were upon the King's party. As fast likewise the Lords and Knights on the Earl of *Leicester's* side drew towards *London*: so that on either part was much People assembled. In the mean time some well disposed Mediators endeavouring a Concord between the King and his Lords, it was finally agreed by both parties, that all matters concerning the foresaid Articles of the Statutes and Ordinances made at *Oxford*, and afterwards by the 12 Peers, should be referred to the *French* King, to judge which should be held, and which not. Upon this Agreement were Copies made of the said Statutes, with Letters shewing the effect of the former Agreement, and sent unto *Lewis* the *French* King. Over sails the King, with his Son *Edward*, and others of his Council on one side: On the other were sent Sir *Peter de Mountford*, and others, as so many Solicitors for their mutual Parties: So that the Statutes were strongly argued before the *French* King by both sides. In the end, the *French*  
King

King *Lewis*, calling before him both Parties on *January* the 24th, and sitting in Judgment, gave express Sentence, that all and every of the said Statutes and Ordinances should be from that day forward utterly void and set at nought, and all such Bonds and Promises, that the King or any other had made for the maintenance of the same, should be annulled and cancelled, and the King and all others, for any matter concerning those Statutes, set at Liberty.

After this Sentence thus given, the King returned into *England*, and so to *London*, *February* the 15th. This King *Lewis* is named a Saint, for that he was not (I suppose) so bad as other Princes too too commonly are, or more probably for some deeds of his pleasing to the Popish Clergy, as his sending to destroy the (then accounted) Heretical *Albigenses*, his taking a Voyage once into the Holy Land, and undertaking a second towards the same place at the Popes request: For at that time the Holy War (as 'tis generally called) was cried up in these Western parts of the World, as a high piece of Devotion. But whatever esteem *Lewis* had got in the World, the Barons (it seems) continued not to have the same Veneration for him, but were contrarywise much moved with his Sentence, noting great Partiality in him, thus to disannul all the fore said Acts, which were at first made in Parliament, the King agreeing to them, and had been variously confirmed, by the Kings Grant, his Oath, and manifold Promises, together with a solemn Curse denounced against such as would attempt in word and deed to break them. It may be 'twas the Fame of this King *Lewis's* Goodness, that made the Barons consent to have him the Umpire, as one concerned on neither party. But what could be expected in the Case? Could it be supposed, that he, a King, would not favour his Brother King what he might, rather than by confirm-



ing these Acts, pretended so prejudicial to all Royal Prerogative, give Example to his own Subjects to require the like at his hands, or attempt to compel him thereto by force? Had the Lords gotten an Umpire from among some disinterested Subjects of some other Land, he perhaps would have adjusted the business wholly in their favour. So hard had it been to have met with a just Arbitrator in the case, who would not have declined to one or the other Party, for fear nor favour.

King *Henry* having thus got a Verdict on his side, and the Barons noting Partiality, and therefore refusing to stand to the Judgment, (though the Chronicle intimates to us, that they had promised assuredly to abide the *French* Kings Arbitration: ) For King *Lewis* expressly excepting King *John's* Charter before granted, the Barons persisted in defence of the *Oxford* Statutes, as founded on that Charter. What then remains, but to commit all to the last Decision of the Sword, and so the whole Arbitrement shall be cast more immediately into the hands of Providence? Away from *London* go the Lords Westward, into the Marches of *Wales*, where drawing to them great Power, they war upon the Lands and Castles of Sir *Roger Mortimer*, to whose aid *Edward* the King's Son coming, his People were distressed, and he himself almost taken. To redress these grievances a new Parliament was appointed at *Oxford*, which *Fabian* says never came to effect: Yet he mentions another Chronicle, which affirms this Parliament to have been there kept, and that the King and his Lords parted thence all at Discord. Besides the mutual Strength of People on either side, The Barons had the Acts of Parliament made by the King, Lords, and Commons ( for of such I have elsewhere read these Assemblies were composed in those days ) to fight for, which to observe the King, and many others

others had been sworn, besides a solemn Curse denounced against the Attempters to break them. The King with his Party had the Popes Bull of Absolution, the Sentence of the Council of Lords at *Westminster*, and the Judgment given on the Kings side by *Lewis* the French King for their Incitement. Such then being the cause contended for, these being the mutual advantages to strengthen either side, the difference is brought in the Spring into the Field to be decided.

All things in a manner thus tending to War, the Barons drew towards *London*, that's their Place of Rendezvous: where new Assurances by Writing indented was made between them and the Commonalty of the City, without Consent of many of the Rulers thereof. Whether they were swayed in their minds to the other side by Reasons they carried in their Pockets, I find not, or thinking they had most to lose, they feared to be the greatest Sufferers, if the chance of War should fall cross, or else out of Envy and Emulation to the Commons, who had already been entrusted with so much Power by the so often named Statutes, and were in probability likely to get more, if the Barons should prevail, or at least keep what they had gotten. Hence 'tis plain, that the Commons of the City were the men that stood by the Lords in defence of the Parliament Acts: Many of the Rulers seem not to have appeared. Wherefore the Commons, as men enraged, made to themselves Two Captains, *Thomas de Iywelden*, and *Stephen Bukkerel*, whom they named Constables of the City. At whose Commandment, by tolling the great Bell of *St. Pauls*, all the City should be ready in Arms, to give Attendance upon the said Captains.

About the beginning of *Lent*, the Constable of the Tower, Sir *Hugh Le Spencer*, came with a fair Company of men at Arms into the City, and desired Assistance

ance

ance of the forenamed Constables, who commanded the said Bell to be toll'd. By means whereof the People shut their Shops and came out in Arms in great Multitudes, who, after Proclamation made that they should follow their Captains, without knowledge what to do, or whither to go, followed them unto *Thyflworth*, beyond *Westminster*, and there spoiled the Ma-nour of the King of the *Romans*, (*Richard* the King's Brother) setting it on Fire; and afterwards with great noise and cry returned unto *London*. This *Richard*, King of the *Romans*, appears to have been a Mediator of Peace between the Two Parties, but after this outrage, what else could be expected, but that he should become the Barons Enemy to the utmost of his Power? Though 'tis commonly seen, that from War most come home by Weeping Cross, yet there are still too too many found, that desire to fish in troubled Waters. Would any, but such as were in Love with Blood and Wounds, have counselled such a Fact as this, in the midst of Civil broils, thus to compel the only Mediator of Peace, likely to prevail, to become a man of War, and which was worse, an Enemy, a powerful Enemy, instead of a peaceable Friend?

In the time of these intestine Jarrs between Men of the same Country and Religion, 'twas much if the Jews should have escaped free, who were strangers, of different Rites and Customs, and so odious to the Common People. That they did not escape the enraged Multitudes Fury, we find, by mention made of Five Hundred of them said to be slain at one time in *London*, on *Palm Sunday* week. The occasion is related to be for that a Jew would have forced a Christian to have given him more than Two Pence a Week for the use of Twenty Shillings. This being the stinted Usury then permitted the Jews, by the King's Grant: According to which rate they might take

any Summ lent, greater or lesser. A reasonable man would have thought, this might have satisfied the greedy Minds of most ordinary griping Extortioners, Eight Shillings Eight Pence by the Year in the Pound, Forty three Pounds Six Shillings Eight Pence in the Hundred: Usury unconscionable enough of any sense. While the Land stood thus divided into Parties, the Jews felt the Peoples rage in the City, and the Country did not altogether scape tasting the miseries of Civil Wars; King *Henry* by divers places came at length into *Sussex*, with a strong Power, whereof the Lords hearing made preparation to go towards him.

Accordingly in the end of *April*, the Barons, with many of the Citizens in the vaward, departed from *London*, taking their Journey towards the King, and hearing he was at *Lewes* with a great power, by common consent drawing up a Letter, sent it in the name of all the Barons to the King: But the Answers were so rough, and in such a stile, that it plainly shewed that the Sword could be the only decider of the Quarrel, and final determiner of the Contest, so much were their Minds exasperated each towards other, though of the same Nation and Kindred.

The Barons well perceiving by these Answers, that there was no other way, but to decide the Quarrel by dint of Sword, they went forward towards the King. *Wednesday May* the 24th, 1263. is the day that may be writ in Red Letters, for the great quantity of Blood spilt thereon, in the Battle fought at *Lewes* between the King and his Barons, wherein by the Will of Providence, the Victory fell to the Barons, with such a total rout to the other Party, that they took Prisoners the King, his Brother, his Son, with many other Noble-Men, to the number of Twenty five Barons and Banerets, above Twenty Thousand being slain, according to my Author's Account. After this

fo

so compleat a Victory, the other Prisoners being sent elsewhere, the Barons kept the King, his Brother, and Son, till they came to *London*. This was the place wherein they had found Shelter, and had had such considerable Assistance from the *Londoners*, that there seemed a kind of Obligation lying on them, and it implied somewhat of a Recompence due to the City, there to shew the Trophies of their Victory. Now we may easily conclude, that the forenamed Statutes are to stand in full force even by the Kings Consent. And so accordingly we find a Grant made, and an Agreement, that if any were thought unreasonable, they were to be corrected and amended by four Noble Men of the Realm, Two of the Spirituality and Two of the Temporality: And if the four accorded not, the Earl of *Anjou* and the Duke of *Brittain* were to be Judges in the case. To continue this accord the firmer, the King's Son, and his Brother, were to remain the Barons Prisoners till it was compleated. A Parliament was also appointed to be held at *London* within a short space, though my Author writes, that this never came to purpose. So it seems, that in those elder times a Parliament was the Subjects desire, and as it were the last Refuge, and means of Reconciliation, to establish Peace and quietness in the Land.

*Tuesday* before *Ascension-Day* is the time named, whereon the acceptable news of Peace were proclaimed between the King and his Barons in *London*, and next day thither they came with the King, his Brother, and Son, and the Two Princely Pledges were sent into safe Custody, first to the Tower, afterwards to *Dover* Castle. In the time of these civil Distractions, and before the Battle, we find that the Wardens of the Cinqueports kept the Sea with Ships, that no Stranger might enter the Land, to the Kings aid against the Barons. Sometime after the Battel we hear of Souldiers coming in  
great

great numbers unto *Dover*, there to land : But King *Henry* was induced to ride thither, with a great power, and force those Strangers to go back again, and the Kings Brother sent Prisoner to *Berkhamstead* Castle, till those Aliens were returned. It stands upon Record in my Author, that he and the Queen had sent over the Sea for them. So that hence it had been manifest, though the Relation of King *John's* Reign had not been extant, that it is no late Devise, nor new Practice, for Persons of Arbitrary Pretences to call in outlandish Souldiers, when they fear they cannot raise assistance enough at home, in their own Native Country, to support and bring to effect their ill intended designs. The Barons side stood firm for the Observation of the Parliament Acts: The Kings party desired to have infringed them. The Barons grew powerful and formidable, the other side seem fearful that they should not be able to compass strength enough at home, suitable to their Designs and desires, and therefore sent abroad. There being idle men enough to be had for money in most places, Soldiers were waged, but there was a Sea to pass, (which required much time, and a suitable Sail of Ships to waite them over,) and a considerable strength lay in the way to intercept them, if they came not well provided for an attack. So that it was a day as it were after the Fair before they came, and that was many hours too late, whereupon they were compelled to return again without, and against their first Intent.

This is the inconvenience, some may think, the great advantage, others may conclude of an Island's situation, that it cannot easily be over-run with foreign Forces, as Lands upon the continent often are, and with more facility. If the shooing of themselves  
and

and their Horses with Cork would do the feat, then they might happen more easily to pass the Sea, but as things go in this Age of the World much time as well as a great Navy is requisite to transport an Army, though little or no opposition be made. Yet how difficult would it be to prevail where among One Million Two Hundred Thousand, One Million One Hundred and Fifty Thousand are on one side, and Fifty Thousand on the other. In Twenty four Twenty three parts against one part: What could it avail, if on some other fine neat pretence, a good store of Forreigners might possibly happen to be introduced, suppose Fifty Thousand: Above Eleven to One would still be great odds. If we should grant One Hundred Thousand could silently be let in under another Nation, into how many little small Parcels must they be minutely divided, at how many several Ports must they arrive, what charge to keep and maintain them, unless put upon present service? And yet there's still hazard enough in the World, and to spare, One Million one Hundred and Fifty Thousand against One Hundred and Fifty Thousand, every man an opposite and Ten-over: Odds sufficiently at Foot-Ball, if in a lesser number. Were it not for the Law of the Land, in how many places d'ye think the 9 Lay Sheaves would not devour the Parsons Tenth Sheaf? *England* stands firm upon its old bottom of Freedom; but *France* hath had Experience more than enough of the afore said truths. 'Tis well known the present *French* King keeps his poor enslaved Subjects under with a strong Force, composed most of other Country Souldiers, and by their assistance, with some other connivance, and the help of French Money, is become the Terror of *Europe*. I doubt not but much

of this his present greatness sprung at first from a successful attempt made in his younger days, to introduce foreign forces upon his less wary Nobility and Gentry, in behalf and by the Guidance of a great Minister of State, whom some of them had desired to be discarded from sitting at the Helm of Government. Whereof his present Majesty I believe had no very pleasing nor desirable Experience. 'Twas in the time when Providence permitted our King to be injuriously kept out of his right by an Usurper, that the *French* Nobles were urgent to have their King exile *Mazarine*, and the better to effect it were ready to have appeared in Arms: But their King in shew granting their desires, (and it may be through the mediation of our Gracious Prince who had too sad an Instance of his own to urge from his Fathers unfortunate Fate) the Princes grew secure and laid aside their combined strength: whereupon the exil'd *Mazarine* comes out of *Germany* (so have I heard) with a strong Army of many Thousands up to *Paris*, and then order'd things at his own Pleasure, and the Kings. The deceiv'd Princes could never vindicate themselves since, and our, then almost friendless, King shortly after thought good to leave the Country, though the Place of his Mothers Original, lest he should have been bid to depart, and that disgusted States-man (as may be suspected) causes the King to close with *England's* usurping Power, and desert a poor distressed, over-power'd Prince with no more regard to him or his, till his Protestant (what if I had also added Presbyterian?) Subjects recall'd him to possess his Fathers Throne, wherein long may he live and flourish to the Nations good, and his own continued Wellfare.

An. 48. *Thomas Fiz Thomas* Mayor, *Osbert Wynter Phil. Taylor* being Sheriffs, The Lords of the Marches about



about *Christmas* assembled, and did much harm to the Manours of the Earls of *Leicester* and *Glocester* (the two noted Chiefs of the Barons Party) thereabouts, which occasioned the King to ride shortly after to *Glocester*, where, by a Council there called, it was enacted, that such of the Lords, that did not come in and yield to the King by the *Octaves* of *Hilary*, should be exil'd. Let the question here be, whether these Lords, known to have been of the King's Party, both before and after this Transaction, were guilty of Treason or Disloyalty in not coming in at the King's Call, & yielding, as the Barons party doubtless cordially desired, & with whom the King was then personally present? Had they straightways obeyed, and come in all upon Summons, the Barons had obtained their design; but how would the change succeeding have been brought to pass, so much to the Courts advantage, and the other sides prejudice? Where's the politick Casuist, that can here slit a hair between loyal and disloyal deeds, Obedience and Disobedience, the duty of subjection and open refusal thereof? According to an Agreement there made, in the said *Octaves* a Parliament was held at *Westminster*, where met (as *Fabian* hath left upon Record) the King with his Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons of the Land, to begin that Parliament. Here was it enacted, the King being present, that he, nor *Edward* his Son, nor none of them, should after that day grieve, nor cause to be grieved, the Earls of *Leicester* and *Glocester*, the Barons, Bannerets or Knights, the Citizens of *London*, and Barons of the Five Ports, nor any other Person or Persons of high or low Degree, that was upon the Party of the said Earls, for any matter of displeasure done against the King and his Son *Edward*, at any time before that day.

To uphold this, the King's Sworn before his Lords  
 After that was shew'd and Read a Charter of Par-  
 don concerning the said Cause, and a confirmation  
 of the Statutes of the Forrest, with many other Acts  
 and Statutes before granted by the King. Here was  
 an Act of Oblivion strong enough one would have  
 thought to have indemnified the offending Parties ;  
 but before the end of the Year we find the Tide quite  
 turn'd, through variance and difference arising be-  
 tween the Two Thiefs of the Barons Party, and then  
 the King's side prevailing Casheers what was done be-  
 fore, Oaths held them not, and another Parliament  
 repeals and disannuls the former Pardon. So that the  
 late Pardon'd Offendors soon became the ( reputed )  
 Guilty Prisoners upon the old Scores, Cancell'd and  
 forgiv'n as was thought a little before. The longest  
 Sword will make and mar Laws at pleasure, let peo-  
 ple say what they will. This Party's Might com-  
 monly bears down, what the other Party calls his  
 Right. *Edward* the King's Son having likewise  
 Sworn to perform the promises, which the King had  
 before made in Parliament, was deliver'd at liberty,  
 and the other Pledg his Cozen, upon assurance made  
 to abide in the King's Court, and not depart without  
 Licence of the King, and some of the Barons. What  
 care do the Barons seem here to have taken, to  
 strengthen and confirm their Party against any future  
 afterclaps ? How solicitous do they appear to have  
 been to prevent an after-Reckoning, and all Tenden-  
 cies thereunto ? Nay, how conformable to them,  
 did the King and his Son shew themselves likewise  
 therein ? Witness the many Instruments and Bonds  
 made by them, for the performance of Covenants  
 and Pactions before agreed on. And yet all was soon  
 destroy'd and brought to none effect : One of the  
 Barons Chiefs helping *Penelope*-like to unravel  
 L the

the Web, they had been so long a Weaving. The Ordering the former Statutes made at Oxford which had hitherto so fast united them, was the occasion of dissention between the Two Potent Earls of *Leicester* and *Glocester*, to the ruin of the Barons Party; the difference arose (as *Stow* tells us) between them, for that *Leicester* not only kept the King and others as Prisoners, but also took to himself the Revenues of the Kingdom, which it seems should have been equally divided amongst them. So that it was the Golden-Apple, that seems to have occasion'd this so fatal Discord. The King indeed and his Lords labour'd for an Union, but it fell out well for the King's side, and ill for the others, that they succeeded not. This happen'd between *Easter* and *Whitsun-tide*. In the *Whitsun*-Week, we hear of *Edward* the King's Son secretly departing from the Court at *Hereford* without Licence, and associating himself with the Earl of *Glocester* and other Lords at *Chester*, from whence he hastes to *Glocester*, breaking the Bridges as he went, that he might not be follow'd, till he had Assembled his Power. The Earl of *Leicester* was too wise not to guess at his Intent, and therefore in all haste sends to his Son to Assemble his Forces. *Simon* his Son with his Forces Assembled, draws towards *Winchester* and was at first kept out by the Citizens, because they knew not whether he came as the King's Friend, and for that they had also receiv'd a Letter from *Edward* to that purport. But it was not long e're the City was yielded, and then the Castle Besieged, after that the City had been spoil'd, and many of the *Jews* therein Inhabiting Slain. They were so odious generally to the People, that they should be sure to have their share to the purpose in the publick Calamity, if the Commons might have their Will. The Papists after all their discover'd Plots, known Practices, and destructive

destructive Principles, are not in a vast degree much more hateful to the generality of the *English* Nation in these Days, than where the griping *Jeaus* in those Elderly Times.

At *Kenelworth* the Barons Party receiv'd the first blow under this *Simon*, where they were shamefully defeated by *Edward* and his Host, and many Eminent Prisoners taken without the shedding of much Blood. At *Evesham* in *Worcestershire* were the Barons discomfited, with such a total overthrow, and the destruction of so many Men of Note on that side, that 'tis no wonder that their Interest among the People visibly decay'd for the future, and in time was fully lost. Soon after this Victory the King and his Son *Edward* met, by whose Authority, the Prisoners then in hold were releas'd, and many others accus'd, and put in for them. Not long after was held a Parliament at *Winchester*, where by Authority of the same, the Statutes and Ordinances before made at *Oxford* were Repealed, and all Bonds and Writings before made by the King, or any other, Cancell'd and Broken, and all such as had favor'd the Barons, disinherited. A Rout indeed. A Rout first to the Men that would have had the Laws have been kept, and then a Rout to the Laws themselves, to Parliament Acts and Statutes. So destroy first of all the Protestant Men and Women, the Subjects of Religion, and then the Protestant Religion falls of course. What could it at that time avail the defeated Party, to plead a former Obedience to the Power then Regnant, since the present Powers were otherwise resolv'd? If the Parliament in Being will have Obedience paid to a former Parliament esteem'd Treason, who dare gainsay it? Little boots it the poor weak Beast to cry the Bunch in his Forehead is no Horn, when the more powerful Lion says it is. After these

Parliament Transactions, we hear of the King's resuming into his hands all grants before made and given to any Person. After his Sons Victory the King calls not a Parliament at *Westminster*, least possibly it might have been over aw'd by the City of *London*, but assembling it at a place far enough distant, and things having there been carried according to the Courts intent and desire, now have at *London*.

Accordingly, after the Parliament was ended, we read of King *Henry's* coming to *Windsor* with a great Power, intending (as the Fame then went) to destroy the City, for the great Ire and Displeasure he had unto it. We need but guess to know, with what a wonderful fear the Mayor and Aldermen were then stricken at this Report. Yet we are told that many of the Commons were in full purpose to have defended the City against the King. So it seems there were then many and divers opinions among them. The City being in those days Inhabited with Men of many Nations, who were then, according to *Fabian*, admitted for Citizens. At last the Citizens condescended to make a supplication to the King, and send it by some Religious Person. Many are said to be sent by sundry Persons; but to little avail: The King being so grievously incensed by some of his Counsel against them, that he would not look upon their Supplications, and if any spoke in their behalf, he soon would make such countenance, that even Men in his Favour fear'd to speak for them. Now was the time for their Ill-willers to vent the utmost of their Spleen against this Honourable City, formerly their Terror, and hope to compleat their full Revenge by working its Destruction. We doubt not but Men of Arbitrary desires have always hated such free constituted Corporate Towns and Cities, and have little reason to beleive, but that there are Men of the like ill Principles and Practices

Practises still alive in the World, who would heartily  
 joyce in their Minds to meet with the like opportu-  
 nity to work out their corrupt designs. Have you  
 never heard of such a saying, as that the Corpora-  
 tions will prove *England's* Destruction? Out of what  
 Mint d'ee think this comes? Where was it first forg'd,  
 but in some such men's Brains? We now look upon  
 one of these Corporations, as one of the principal  
 Bulwarks of the Protestant Religion, and the English  
 Liberty: And that it may long so continue, in de-  
 fence of their just Priviledge, and true Religion, in  
 spight of all Arbitrary endeavours and Popish designs,  
 is the hearty Prayer and Desire (I doubt not) of eve-  
 ry good Protestant and Loyal English-man. While  
 the cautionary Protestant Towns in *France* stood firm  
 and fix, and uninjur'd in their just Liberties and Pri-  
 viledges; how gloriously, and with what safety did  
 the Protestant Religion flourish in that Land? But  
 when through the Force and Violence of Arbitrary  
 Pretenders, and treacherous connivance of some cor-  
 rupt English States-men, *Rochel* was reduc'd in the  
 last age under absolute power, what foundation was  
 thereby laid for the Protestants future Ruin, and pre-  
 sent greatness of the French Monarchy? How well  
 the Papists designs have there succeeded, since the ut-  
 ter subversion of the Protestant Towns, is not un-  
 known to their Neighbours: Such sad Reports have  
 not long since pierc'd our English Ears of the Barba-  
 rous usages the Protestants there have lately under-  
 gone, whereof some sorrowful Spectacles may have  
 possibly presented themselves of late to some of our  
 Eyes. What further Progress the Jesuits may haply  
 make in their cursed designs, by sending into *England*  
 bloody Papists, in the form of distressed Protestants;  
 We have but too just Cause to fear. Especially if all  
 be true, that hath been Reported, of the going of

some of these suspected Strangers to a Popish Habitation, and of others being seen going to Mass. How well would it be for the Land, were all these Reports undoubtedly false, and our Fears, Jealousies and Suspitions, altogether causeless.

When the Citizens Supplications were thus rejected at Court, the History tells us, that they were counselled by their Friends to make a Writing, and Seal it with their Common-Seal, whereby they should offer to put themselves wholly in the King's Grace and Mercy, touching their Lives and Goods. This we may easily suppose, much more Irksome, than a bare Surrender of their Charter; yet this was at length done, and Eight Persons of the City, who had Friends at Court, chosen and sent towards *Windsor*. But upon the way encountering with Sir Roger Layborn, one of the Kings Knights, he turn'd them unto the City, Riding with them till he came near it, and then departing from them Rode upon the back side of the Town unto the Tower. But at his departing from them; he willed them, to warn the Mayor with certain of the City to meet him to morrow at *Berking Church*, standing near unto the Tower. Upon their meeting next morning, Sir Roger, after a long preamble, shew'd them the Kings grievous Displeasure, which he bare towards the City, and the means that had been used by their Friends, to obtain Grace for it. In fine he expressed, that no Grace for them might be had, except they would by their Common-Seal bind themselves fully and wholly to stand at the King's Grace, and to put in his Mercy their Lives and Goods. This being in the end granted by the Citizens, and the foresaid writing delivered to Sir Roger, with entreaty that he would be a good mean for them to the King. He departed upon the morrow to the King, and return'd again in Six Days, and willed the Mayor and Aldermen

Aldermen to meet him again at the foresaid Church. There he shew'd them, that the King by great Instance of their Friends, had received their writing, and would set for the beginning of the content of his mind; That all the Chains, which stood in every Street and Lane's and within the City, should be loosed from their Posts, and the Posts also drawn out of the Earth, & all be brought into the Tower so belike upon apprehension of great danger, to set up Posts & Chains in the City, as an ancient Custom. He also further order'd, That this being done, the Mayor with about Forty of the Citizens, should the Day following be at *Windsor*, to confirm the Grant of their Writings: And that they might come and goe in safe and sure wise, he deliver'd them the Kings Letter and Seal for the term of **Four Days**.

All this being done, the Mayor with other Persons were ready at *Windsor* on the morrow, being Sunday, by One of the Clock, and carried there till Four: At which season the King coming from his Disport, (as says my Author) enters the Castle without countenance or casting his Eyes upon the *Londoners*. The King and his People being entred, the *Londoners* would have followed, but they were warn'd to abide without. Then in short time after the King caus'd a Proclamation to be made, that no man of high or low degree should make any sayings of displeasure or quarrel to the *Londoners*. In the Evening Sir Roger and another Knight came to them, and brought them into the Castle, and said, The Kings pleasure was not to speak with them that Night; And after deliver'd them to the Constable of the Castle, who Lodg'd them all that Night in a large Tower, to their small Chear and worse Lodging: Upon the morrow being *Monday*, toward Night, they were taken out of the Tower, and delivered to the Bayliff of the Castle, and Lodged



by his Assignment, except these five Persons, viz. *Thomas Fitz Thomas Mayor, Michael Tony, Steven Bukker, Thomas Pywellyson, and John Deslete.* These five had the King given to his Son Edward, at whose commandment they remained in the said Tower long after, notwithstanding the King's safe Conduct so then before made. What became then of the King's sword? But who durst oppose a waking Lyons. The fable's Hunter in the fable lik't not to deal roughly with him, till his long Teeth were broken out, and his Claw cut off. When, upon the birth of Queen Mary's being with Child, King Philip of Spain her Husband desired to be chosen the Child's Guardian, if the Mother should Decease, and offered the Parliament great assurances and Bonds of Security for his redelivery of the Kingdom at the appointed time, that Gentleman shew'd himself no Fool; who, when the assurances were likely to find acceptance, stood up and inquired who should sit the Bond; And the Parliament enough approv'd him, when they immediately thereupon rejected the King's specious offers. 'Tis very disadvantageous, and often injurious to the Weak, to be making of bargains with the more Powerful, who are strong enough to break their Promises and Covenants with Impunity, or keep them but e'en as they please. When the tydings of the usage of the Mayor and the rest at *Windsor* came to *London*; whereas many for fear had absented themselves before, upon this news many more convey'd away themselves and their goods secretly into diverse parts of *England*, so that many of them are said never to have return'd after.

In the 49th. Year, November the 6th. We find that the King came to *Westminster*, and shortly after gave to diverse of his Household-Servants, near about thirty Houses and Households within the City, so that the Owners were compell'd to redeem their Houses and Households.

Households, with all the goods in them, or else to depart and suffer such Persons to enter to whom the said Houses were given. This grant is said to have extended likewise to all the Lands, Tenements, Goods and Chattels, which the said Citizens had in any other places of England. Riches have often made Persons been singled out for offenders, while the poor Man in the mean time escapes free, few envying him his Poverty. After this was *Otho* Constable of the Tower made Custos or Guardian of the City, who chose *John Adrian* and *Walter Herby* Citizens to be Bayliffs under him, and to him to be accountable to the King's will. Then took the King pledges of the best Men's Sons of the City, that his peace should be surely kept within the same. These were put into the Tower, and there kept at their Parents cost. Shortly after by great Labour and Suit made, the foresaid Londoners, in the keeping of the Bayliff of the Castle of *Windsor*, were deliver'd and came to *London*, except four of them, viz. *Richard Bonaventure*, *Symon De Haddestok*, *William De Kent*, and *William De Gloucester*, who with the other five afore excepted were still kept in the Tower of *Windsor*. Then dayly Suit and Labour was made to the King, to have his Gracious Favour, and to know his Pleasure, what fine he would have of the City for their Transgressions, and Displeasure by them to him done. The former Transactions seem to bear a Tendency hereunto. The Citizens were prevail'd upon to resign up themselves, their Lives and Goods, into the King's hands, submitting all to his Mercy, that a good large fine might be the easier levied of them, and the Nation the better made to beleive, that the City was well dealt with for paying no more, whenas the King might have seiz'd upon all, they having surrendred in a manner wholly upon discretion. To what else tend the many preparatives before rehears'd

heard, but to make this bitter Pill go down, the  
 smoother and quieter with them? The Book ac-  
 quaints us that the King asked 40000*l* and finally  
 stood at 10000 Marks. But the City alledged for  
 themselves, that the poor Commons of the City, where  
 of many were gone away, were the Trespassers, and  
 that the best of the City by these riotous Persons  
 were robbed and spoiled, and had lost a great part of  
 their Substance. In this troublesome time, by the Ro-  
 vers of the Sea, as the Wardens of the five Ports and  
 others. For these and many other considerations the  
 Citizens besought the King, of his most Gracious Fa-  
 your and Pity, to take of them as they might hear.

This matter thus depending, the King departed  
 from Westminster to Northampton, having a little be-  
 fore his departure Ordained Sir John Lynd, and Mr  
 John Walden Clerk to be Guardians of the City and  
 Tower, they being named in the King's Writing, Senes-  
 chals or Stewards of the City. Upon the Day after the  
 King was gone, these Two Stewards sent for Twen-  
 ty Four of the most notable Men of the City, and  
 warned them to appear the Day following before the  
 King's Council at Westminster. At their appearance  
 it was shown unto them by Sir Roger Leyborn, that the  
 King's mind was, That they should have the Rule of  
 the City in his absence under the foresaid Seneschals  
 and for to see good Rule kept in the City, they should  
 be sworn there before his Council. They were there-  
 upon sworn and countermanded unto the City. The  
 City's fine was in agitation till about Christmas, when  
 an End was made with the King, by such friends as  
 the City had about him, for the Sum of 20000  
 Marks, for all transgressions and offences by them  
 before done, some Persons excepted, whom the King  
 had given to his Son Edward, being those afore nam'd  
 kept in the Tower of Windsor. For the payment of

Sum at Days by agreement set, where Sir Roger  
 and Mr Robert Warcyne Clerk assign'd to take  
 After Surety by them receiv'd, and sent to  
 King at Northampton, the King sent immediately  
 to the Citizens a Charter under his Broad Seal  
 which may be seen in Fabian my Author in these trans-  
 Tis needless to make many comments  
 upon this affair. Through the whole it is  
 manifest, that the City was of considerable Power and  
 that the King thought not good to exasper-  
 the Citizens too much, lest evil should have  
 one of it. To make a Bridge of Gold for a flying  
 party is no mean Policy. Doubtless it was well for  
 the Court that they us'd not the most violent, for  
 the Baron's Party was not wholly destroyed as yet in  
 hand, though it was very much crush'd. How  
 the whole City joyn'd therewith, might have be-  
 come deadly, if not turn'd the Scales, had she been  
 harshly dealt with, I rather crave leave to remit  
 to the Readers consideration, than hastily presume to  
 determine. 'Tis certain enough, that within less than  
 ten Years, the Cause was in great likelihood to have  
 been reviv'd to purpose, had not convenient course  
 been taken to hush it a sleep again, without rashly  
 proceeding to the highest extremities, as you may find  
 in the sequel of the History. After the aforesaid Par-  
 tial was receiv'd by the Citizens, the pledges in the  
 Tower of London, and the Four last mention'd to be  
 in the Tower of Windsor were deliver'd. The  
 aforesaid Stewards were also discharged, and the Ci-  
 tizens chose of themselves for Mayor, William Fitz Ri-  
 chard, and for Sheriffs Thomas de la Foudre, and Grego-  
 ry Rokislay, as Fabian acquaints us. For Levying of  
 the aforesaid Fine were set as well Servants, and Cove-  
 nant-men, as Householders, and many refus'd the Li-  
 berties

berits of the City to be quit of that charge, which we may give some part of a guess at the greatness of the fine, what a considerable summe of marks was in those days, before the *Ladies* were brought into *Europe*, some hundreds of years.

This controversy with *London* being thus brought towards an end, the King had leasure to mind suppressing the remains of the *Baron's* Party. *Simon de Mountford* upon certain conditions was permitted to be at large in the Kings Court, and so continued a Season. But when the King was come to *London*, suddenly departed to *Winchelsea*, where he accompanied with the Rovers of the Sea, till after some Prize taken he departed from them into *France*, and put himself into the Service of the *French* King. So began an end of the Potent Earl of *Leycester's* Family in *England*: This Powerful Earl bid fair for the Rule of the whole Kingdom, but had he reviv'd the *Battle of Hasting*, a Conqueror, how much further he would have gone, I may think but not positively determine.

Another Act of the Kings this year, in order to the total rooting out of the *Barons* remains, was his laying a Siege to *Kentworth-Castle* with a mighty Power, but this prov'd a task not quickly at an end. Now the time comes to revenge old slights and neglects. *Strangers* prepar'd to come over into *England*, the Queen had also purchas'd a curse of the Pope (a womans aid) to accurse all the *Barons*, their aiders and helpers; & Commissions were directed to certain *Bishops* of *England* to execute, but they for fear of the *Barons*, are said to have deny'd, and deferred the Execution and Sentence of the said curse. Wherefore the King made new labour to the Pope, and had it granted that the said *Bishops* should be corrected for their disobedience. Whereupon October the Pope's Legate, and

Council

cancel by him and the Clergy held this year at *Paul's* Church in *London*, suspended those Bishops, and sent them to *Rome* to be absolv'd of the Pope. A pretty error to go nine Miles with *Walsbam's* calf to Suck a

In the 50th year about *Christmas* was *Kenelworth* Castle yielded, after near half a years Siege, upon Conditions of life, Limb, Horse, Armes and all things in the Castle to the defendants belonging, and to carry them away, and not to be disinherited. Neither is it any wonder, that they had such Conditions granted them, if that be true, which *Stow* relates, that at the King's coming to besiege the Castle, their force was so great, and those in the Castle so daunted at their Enemies presence, that they opened their Gates, and never closed them day nor night, and come who so would, they came to their aid. Thus you see the King found it no easy matter wholly to suppress the remainders, though he had more power'd the heads of the Baron's party. About were the Wardens of the five Ports reconcil'd to the King by favour of *Edward* the King's Son. Observe by the way his policy. In his Father's time he was said to crush that power, which might have hampered him in his own Reign, and having pretty well crush'd it, he after seems a pretender to Popularity, by mediating with his Father in behalf of many, that addressed themselves to him for reconciliation. It much tends to apply our selves to a fit Intercessor. So have we known a Stepmother, when requested, prevail with the Father her Husband in her Son in Law's behalf, when he himself could not.

The Conditions of this reconciliation of the Barons of the five Ports are not unworthy of the remark. We read that in *Anno. 47.* these Wardens of the five Ports kept the Sea with Ships, that no Strangers should enter

ter the Land to the King's Aid. In 48, we are told that they rob'd and spoild all men that they might spare, sparing neither English Merchants nor others, which preys, as the Common Fame went, the Barons of the Land had a good part. In 49. we find the *Londoners* alledging for themselves, in mitigation of the great Fine required of them, that they had lost a great part of their Substance by the Rovers of the Sea, among whom are named the Wardens of the Cinque Ports. And yet notwithstanding all these great Harms done, they are Recorded to have had all their former Priviledges confirmed to them, and further was Granted, That if any *English-man*, or other, would Sue for Restitution of Goods, by them before taken, or for the Death of any of their Friends before Slain, that all such Complaints should be Sued in their Courts, there to have their matters determin'd, and not elsewhere. What great Assurance could these Barons desire for their own security? They might well promise themselves impunity, when they were in such fair probability to their own Judges in their own Cause, unless we suppose Juries were to be chosen elsewhere. Would we might in good reason, that the King would yield to such Terms of Accomodation, had we it not upon Record, that the common Fame at that Day ran, that the said Wardens of the Five Ports had then the Dominion of the Sea: Wheretupon the King was afterwards compell'd to follow their Pleasures. When a Man is to take an unpleasant Potion, after he has drunk up the greatest part thereof, it not rarely happens, that the Remains in the bottom are harder to get down than was all the rest.

About the Feast of *Philip and Jacob* we hear of the King's holding a Parliament at *Northampton*, which were confirm'd the old Franchises and Liberties

by the King's Progenitors before Granted to the City of London, with a new Grant for the Shire of *Mid-  
dlesex*. 'Tis good to make things as sure as we can. At this Parliament were likewise disinherited many Noble-men of the Land, who before-time had taken the Barons Party. For which cause they accompanied together, Robbed in divers parts of the Land, took *Lincoln* and spoil'd it, and after Ransomed many of the Rich Burgesies of the Town: And taking the *Castle of Ely*, so strengthened it, that they held it long after.

Anno 51, At the choosing of the Mayor of *London*, a Controversie arose between the Rulers and Commons of the City. Wherefore by advice of the Lord Mayor and Aldermen Sir *Roger Leyborn* (a Courtier plain enough by his Actions related before) with others came to *Guild-hall*, being Armed under their Gowns, and upon *Fryday* following *Alballon* day, called the Commons to the Election of the new Mayor. How free was this Election likely to be, whither men came secretly Armed to assist their Party? *Fabian* tells us that the best of the City gave the Nomination to *Aleyn Savch*, and divers of the others cryed upon *Thomas Fitz Thomas*, at that time Prisoner in *Windsor Castle*, wherefore the said Sir *Roger*, with the Assistance of the Mayor and others, took those Persons, and sent them unto divers Prisons. So that what they could not do well get by fair means, some seem resolved to obtain by force. And yet 'tis not unlikely, but they should be ready enough to bear People in hand that such was a free Election. The Act against Disturbance of Free Elections (wherein the King commandeth upon Forfeiture, that no man by force of Arms, nor by malice or menacing, shall disturb any to make Free Election) was not at that time dreaded, as not being yet enacted (for it is plac'd in the third of *Edward* the



the First, the following King) wherefore the Distrubers might not then think they had such cause to be having the Court also on their side, as others must have had since, as soon as ever they should be acted so imprudently, as to bring themselves within the lash of that standing Law. Observe we here Power and Esteem, that usually accompanies the Mayoralty of this Honorable City, since that Faction were for choosing one of their own Party. Shall I further remark upon the whole of this what Party in a Nation 'tis, that sticks not at fraud nor force to effect their Designs, when fair dealing is too weak to compass them? But who will promise me that this will not be offensive? Therefore to proceed. In this Year the Gentlemen, who kept the Isle of Ely, and liv'd there like Outlaws, broke out several times and did much harm in *Norfolk, Suffolk, and Cambridge Shire*, took *Norwich*, and after spoiling carried away with them many of the rich men, and ransomed them at great sums of Money. This gave occasion, the story says, to Thieves and other dispos'd People to do many other hurts and mischief in divers places of the Land, and the blame was laid to those Gentlemen. Then the Popes Legate laboured with the King, that those disinherited Gentlemen might purchase their Lands of him by Fine and Ransom some. Whereupon it was agreed that they should have their Lands again at five Years value, some being excepted, and others of small Possessions to be Fined at the discretion of the King's Council. But this took no conclusion saith my Author.

Anno 52. *Aloyn Sowch* being Mayor, *Thomas de finge* and *Robert de Cornehyll* Sheriffs, we read of another broyl beginning, which was like to have created no little disturbance in the Land, had it not been timely appeas'd, and brought to an end by the Intercession

cession

tion of wise Mediators. For *Gilbert de Clare*, Earl  
 of *Glocester*, formerly a powerful Man among the  
 Barons Party, by reason of difference and disgust  
 arising between him and the no less Potent Earl of  
*Lincolne*, of the same Party, having turn'd to the  
 King's side, adding to it such considerable strength,  
 that it soon overpower'd the weaken'd Barons; but  
 how upon what occasion *Fabian* expresses not, he  
 refused the King, and gathered to him a strong  
 Power in the *Marches of Wales*. To him likewise  
 drew *Sir John Eyvile*, and others of the disinherited  
 Party. So that after *Christmas*, he comes with a  
 great Host near unto *London*. When the Mayor  
 and Aldermen of the City were aware of the Earls  
 coming with so strong a Power, and not knowing  
 whether he were the Kings Friend, they shut the  
 Gates against his Fore-Riders. And for that neither  
 the King, nor any of his Council were then near  
 the City, they went unto the Legate, at that time  
 lodged in the *Tower*, and required his Council,  
 whether they should suffer the Earl to enter into the  
 City or not; whereunto the Legate answered, that  
 he thought not the contrary, for he knew well that  
 he was the Kings true Subject and Friend. Not  
 long after came a Messenger from the Earl to the  
 Mayor, to have Licence to pass through the City  
 unto *Southwark*, where he intended to lodge with  
 his People: which was granted, and so the Earl  
 passed through the City, and was lodg'd in *South-*  
*wark*: To him came shortly after by *Surry-side*,  
*Sir John Eyvile*, with a great Company. Then the  
 Mayor kept the Gate of the Bridge shut, watch-  
 ing it dayly with armed Men, and every night  
 caus'd the Draw-Bridge to be drawn, and the Wa-

M

ter-side

reside daily and nightly to be watched with Men in Arms. In short time after the Legate and the Earl agreed in such wise, that the Earl by his advice was suffered with certain of his People to be lodged in the City : By means whereof he daily drew more and more of his People into it, so that finally many things were ordered by him, and many of the Commons took his part against the Mayor and Aldermen.

The Commonalty of the City had had great Power put into their hands by the Statutes made at *Oxford*, as appears before in the Meeting of the Folkmoot at *Pauls Cross* ; they had been lately fin'd, after the Barons overthrow, for their standing in defence of those Parliament-Acts, and but the last year had been disturb'd by the Mayor in their Election of a new Mayor, by force of Arms, and therefore now we may beleive it all remembred. What, shall we loose so seasonable an opportunity, (we may suppose they might then think) if not to regain our former power, yet at least to vindicate our selves against future affronts ? Here we may note not a little of the Earls policy. After he had gathered together his People, he comes away to *London*, and getting leave to pass through it with part of his Forces, he settles himself as near the City, as he might, in *Southwark*, and then by degrees gets himself and his Power into the City, hoping doubtless to find a Party therein willing to second him, which hopes we perceive by the sequel were not ill grounded. Is not this a plain instance of the Cities Power, Esteem, and Influence in those days ? If any can produce plainer proof hereof, let them as soon as they please. I think here is

Mathe

Mathematical Demonstration: matter of Fact not of Fancy.

In *Easter* week we read that the Earl took the Keys of the Bridge, and of the Gates, from the Officers of the City, and deliver'd them to such as pleased him, and received into the City many of the disinherited Persons, and gave them free liberty to pass the Bridge at all hours of the day and night. Of all this the Mayor sent word to the King, who then was gathering of this Power in *Norfolk*, and made hasty speed towards *London*. In the meantime the Earl with his Company made Bulwarks and Barbicanes between the Tower and the City, casting Dikes and Trenches in some places thereof, and fortified it wonderfully saith my Author. Then many of the Citizens, fearing a new Insurrection, departed from the City as secretly as they could, whose goods the Earl seized to his own use, or suffered his men to spoil them at his pleasure. Then the Commons forgetting their late punishment, or rather too much remembring it and intending revenge, without fear or dread of their King took certain of the Aldermen, and cast them into Prison, sequestering their Goods, and spoiling much thereof: And thereupon ran to *Guild-hall*, and chose for their Mayor, Gistot, or Ruler of the City (take which name you please) Sir *Richard de Culworth* Knight, and for Bayliffs *Robert de Lynton* and *Roger Marshal*, and discharg'd the old Mayor and Sheriffs. These the fruits of Civil Broils. This being done, we read in the next place, that all such Prisoners, that were in *Newgate*, *Ludgate* and *Criplegate*, or in any other Prisons within the City, because of the Baron's War before passed, were delivered and set at liberty.

Thus each Party when in Power, strives to weaken and suppress their opposites, and strengthen their own side. What avails Laws, Customes, and Ordinances in the midst of Armies? How suddainly how unexpectedly is the wheele turn'd? who know how soon the Barons War had been anew reviv'd had not Powerful Mediators interceded to the prevention of more blood shedding. The *Oxford Statutes* stood in deed repeal'd by the *Winchester Parliament*, but who can divine what new devices the wit of men backt with Power might in time have found out, to retrieve their late overthrown cause had not Providence so dispos'd mens minds to peaceable Counsels, as to bring these new troubles to a quicker end.

When the Legate beheld all this Discord, we are told, he repented him of his former Counsel given to the Mayor, which we may easily believe without looking for any proofs thereof. For the Legate might well think himself accus'd in many men's thoughts, as one of the occasional Causes of much of this disorder, though it may be they might not be so uncharitable. as to believe him any other then an accidental not designed Cause thereof. He seems by the History to have endeavour'd somewhat to vindicate his Reputation, when he saw he could not reform the Earl, by threatening him with the Censures of the Church, and to accurse him as the Disinherited were. For that was always one of the best Weapons the Popish Clergy were most detestable at. If any grievously displeas'd them, no matter what the cause was, good or bad, allowable by the Divine Laws or not, to Curse him with Bell Book and Candle, was their usual accustomed Practice.

Whoſoever believes me not, let him go to the  
 Martyrologies, & ſee whether he can then beleive his  
 own eyes. Yet I do not find (let the Inſtance here  
 be one) that this their Curſing had ſo general an  
 effect upon all men, as they would have had it,  
 if they got it well backt by the Civil Magiſtrates  
 authority. Therefore their common uſe was, as  
 they had opportunity, to inch out the Spiritual  
 Sword with the Temporal. What did many value  
 to have their Souls given away to the Devil, if they  
 could keep their Bodies out of Priſons from being  
 delivered over to the Secular Power by the Clergy.  
 who ſeem thus as it were by craft to call the Ma-  
 ſtrates the Devil? A plain caſe, when Men to exalt  
 their own Worldly grandure, or out of Animofity to  
 revenge a particular private peek or quarrel, under  
 pretence of Religion, uſurpe a Power over Men's  
 Souls and Conſciences, which belongs not at all to  
 them; or elſe turn the Edge of it to a uſe quite  
 contrary to the Primitive Inſtitution, it quickly  
 loſes its Ancient Vigour and Eſteem, and from a  
 terror it becomes a ſcorn to perſons of underſtan-  
 ding, able enough to diſcern men's wicked preva-  
 lation from true Religion. Were it not for the  
*Interdict De Excommunicato capiendo* in ſome Caſes Men  
 would little value Excommunication, or look upon  
 it otherwiſe than a Scare-Crow to fright Children  
 and Fools, what's hanging, were it not for choak-

To proceed after this menace and threat of the  
 Legate, we are told that he commanded Divine  
 ſervice to be ſaid without Note, and the Church  
 doors to be ſhut in time thereof, and that no Bell  
 ſhould be rung unto it, to the Intent that the diſin-

herited, who stood accursed, should not enter the Churches to hear it. Upon three Weeks after *Easter* we hear that the King came to *Ham*, a few miles from *London*, whether likewise came the Legate soon after. Then the King's host made divers assaults upon the City, but it seems with little or no hurt to the Town, it was so strongly fortified. My Author makes mention of Guns and other Ordinances, but I question whether he speaks not rather after the fashion of the Age he liv'd in, than after the true use of armes in those more elderly times. For the first invention of Gunpowder by *Bertholdus Swart*, the *German* Monk, is plac'd by Chronologers a considerable time after.

In this time of variance the Legate upon his Party, and the King of *Romans* upon the other party, for alliance between him and the Earl of *Glocester*, labour'd so to the King, that Peace was spoken of. During the Treaty the Soldiers lying in *Southwarke* made many Robberies in *Surry* and other places. Neither did the King's Palace at *Westminster* escape, for we hear that some of them row'd over there, and Spoil'd it, drunk up the Kings wine, brake the glass of the Windows wasting and destroying other Necessaries thereunto belonging, and came likewise sometimes into *London* and Robbed there. Disorderly unruly Soldiers little regard any one, unless they be kept under Strict discipline. Sacred or Profane much the same to many of them. Some of these ravenous Spoilers being taken, are recorded to have had a severe Punishment inflicted on them, through the Earl of *Derby's* means, whose Body or Cognizance they bare viz. bound hands and legs, put into a Sack and so cast into *Thames*. About *Berny*

day was the Peace between the King and the Earl concluded. After this Conclusion the Earl removed out of the City and was lodg'd again in *Southwark*. The King entred the City the Sunday before *Midsummer* day according to the Book: And forthwith the King's Proclamation were made through it, of the peace made between the King and the Earl. After was liberty given to the disinherited Persons of Eleven Days respite to shift for themselves, either to depart to such Places, where they might be in some Surety, or else to agree to the former Composition made by the Legate, *viz.* To pay the Fifth part of the Yearly Value of their Lands, certain Persons only excepted, as is before related. As touching the Earl, and such other as before were not disinherited, together also with the Citizens of *London*, they were clearly to be forgiven and Pardoned. Then were restored to their Offices *Aleyn Sowch* Mayor, *Thomas Bafynge* and *Robert de Cornhil* Sheriffs. And the Aldermen, before deposed, were again likewise restored to their Wards and Offices. A happy Reconciliation.

Next comes the relation of the Legate's interdicting all the City the *Wednesday* following, which endured from six of the clock in the Morning, till three the next day in the Afternoon, and then was discharg'd upon the Oath of two Commons sworn in the name of the City, that the City should stand to the Ordinance and Judgment of the Church. So *Fabian* informs us, but he likewise tells us of another Chronicle which affirms, that this Interdiction should have continued longer, had it not been for the sternness of the *Londoners*, who held the Legate so streight, that they inforced him to withdraw that



sentence upon the foresaid Condition. So that it  
 seems the Legate had not strength enough to deal  
 with the *Londoners* so roughly and harshly, yet su-  
 curely, as otherwise he might perchance have done  
 with lesser Places and Parties. His reverend Legate  
 ship seems not here to have went so cunningly in  
 work; as did a Legate much of the same Name,  
 not the same Man, in the twenty first of this Kings  
 Reign, with the *Oxford* Scholars. He first got far  
 enough off from them to *Wallingford*, and then ac-  
 cus'd the misdoers, that had put him into such a fear,  
 that for his Safeguard he took the Belfry of *Oxford*, and  
 abode there, till the Kings Ministers coming from  
*Abbingdon*, with strength mixt with fair words, deli-  
 vered him, and conveyed him away, as is in part  
 before shewn. No, no, the *Londoners* were too strong  
 and stern, so to be fool'd and us'd. They would ra-  
 ther, we perceive by the story, compel him, than  
 sawningly crouch to him.

After this the Bulwarks, and Barlicarnes, made  
 by the Earl in the City, were plucked clean up, and  
 Ditches fill'd, so that no part of them was seem  
 Good to destroy all the Monuments of civil Broils  
 and Discord. When the Citizens should have had  
 their new Pardon granted, an obstacle was made  
 for so much as they as yet had not recompenced  
 the King of the *Romans*, for the Subversion of his  
 Manour of *Thistleworth*. Well remembred and as  
 seasonably put in. A good convenient opportunity  
 to put in for his share; when he knew all the other  
 differences were pretty well quieted in the Land  
 and might reasonably conclude, the City would ra-  
 ther wisely part with a little Money, than begin a  
 new trouble for a small matter, and so hazard all.

For

for his Reparation was ask'd (we find) six thousand marks. But finally, with great Labour and Freindship agreement was made, to give him for amends one thousand marks to be paid in two years. Thus you may observe, some will be sure however to ask enough, where they know there is good Ability to pay, though they take at last much less: Like the Duke, that requested five hundred Oaks of the King to build him an House, when as one hundred was enough, and it may be too much.

After these Transactions, the King accepted and retired to his Grace, Sir *John Eyrcile*, and several others, some of them named before among the Barons Party. Accord was also made between *Edward* the Kings Son, and the Earl of *Glocester*. They were all Fortresses and other Defences, before made in *Durham*, and the places adjoyning, pulled up (said my Author) and destroyed, and the Earl with all other Souldiers departed. After things thus set in Order and Rest, except that some yet kept the Isle of *Ely*, the King Rides to *Shrewsbury*, and tarries there a Season to commune of matters between him and *Lewellin* Prince of *Wales*. While he there abode, I find that a Writ was directed to Sir *Aleyn Smith*, Mayor of *London*, eight days before *Michaelmas*, from the King, charging him that the Citizens should not proceed to Election of new Sheriffs, till his coming to *London*, but to suffer the old to abide still in Office. By this we may guess at the honourable Sheriffs Power, even in those days, and beleive that the Court thought it convenient for their interest, in those unsettled times, to influence the Election what they might. What else means the Kings command to defer the Election till his coming to Town?

And

And indeed we may perceive by the History, that there was meddling to the purpose the following year, for the King himself, instead of permitting a free Election, did in effect put in two Sheriffs, of his own nomination. For the Mayor was commanded to present to the King six Persons able to be Sheriffs (it may be it was also privately intimated to him whom they should be) and out of them the King chose two to be Sheriffs, *William de Durham*, and *Walter Henry*, and caused them to be sworn, that they should gather the profits of the City, and give a true Account before the Barons of the Exchequer. But for this, the Court seem to have had a pretty plausible pretence from some disorders lately committed in the City. As indeed they appear by the History of this Kings Reign very ready, either to find occasion for pretences, or else to make one, that they might seize the Cities Charter, and afterwards restore it again for a good round sum of Money.

The Disorders in *London* above mention'd were occasion'd, through variance falling out between the Fellowships of Goldsmiths and Taylors in *November*, in the fifty third year of this King, reckoning with my Author from the usual time of the Mayors entering into his Mayoralty. This variance was so great, that it grew to the making of Parties, so that while the Taylors held the Craft of Stainers, with the Goldsmiths held another Fellowship or Craft. By means whereof much people nightly gathered together in the Streets in Arms. At length, as if before appointed, there met one night of the said Parties upon the number of five hundred Men on both sides, and ran together with such violence, that some were slain and many wounded: To this purport I find

find it related. Then upon outcry made the Sheriffs with a strength of other Commons came to them, and took certain of them, and sent them to the Prisons: Upon the Morrow such search was made, that most of the cheif causers of that Fray were taken and put into Ward. Upon the *Friday* following *Katherine's Day*, at the Sessions kept at *Newgate* by the Mayor, *Laurence de Broke* Justice and others, were many of these Persons Arraigned of Felony, and some of them cast and hang'd. Among them was likewise one *Godfrey de Beverlay*, who had helped to Arm one of them. Thus the Accessary is not seldom thought as guilty as the Thief.

On the Morrow after *St. James's day*, the King discharged (as writes my Author) Sir *Aleyn Souche* Mayor, and made *Stephen Edworth* Constable of the *Tower*, and *Custos* of the City of *London*. *Fabian* (after whom I most write) hath left us the Names of a Mayor, and Sheriffs, affixt to every year of this *Henry's* Reign, yet he likewise gives us to understand, that of these Rulers of the City, after the year that *Thomas Fitz Thomas* was Mayor, there are divers opinions. For after some Writers (continues he) from that year, *viz.* forty eight till the fifty fifth of King *Henry's* Reign, in which year *Jabn Adrian*, Draper, was Mayor, they were all Guardians and no Mayors, and who so was then Constable of the *Tower*, the same was also *Custos* of the City. So that, according to this Account, there pass'd about seven years, wherein the *Londoners* had not the full and free use of their Priviledges and Franchises. If this be allowed for a Truth, we have but little Reason to marvel, that we find the Commons so ready to adhere to such, as they might hope would vindicate their former

mer Liberty, and the Rules so averſe from joyning with ſuch, in diminution of that Regal Power, to which they ſeem wholly to have ow'd theirs, and not to any Intereſt and Favour they had among the Commons of the City. Who knows, if thoſe Writers words be granted, but this might be ſome Reaſon of the Earl of Glouceſter's ſtirring again againſt the Court deſigns, (with a little perhaps of Jealouſy, of the Kings Son *Edward's* overmuch familiarity with his Wife, in a Court hinted to us by *Scow*, but plaid by him an year later, *In Reg. 53.*) When he ſaw the City, which had formerly took part with the ſame ſide he once was of, deprived of their Liberties and Franchiſes, with little hopes of regaining them, much through his means, by his late ſiding with *Edward* the Kings Son, to the weakening and overthrow of the Barons Party, to which the City had ſo firmly adher'd? In this year, by Mediation and means of the ſame *Edward*, all ſuch diſſentient Perſons, as kept the Iſle of *Ely*, are ſaid to be reconciled to the King, and all Fortreſſes and Defences therein by them made, plucked away and deſtroyed.

In *July*, *Oſobon* the Pope's Legate, who had intereſted himſelf ſo much in the late Tranſactions, departed towards *Rome*, but not without a great Treafure, Levi'd, we hear, of the Church. My Author intimates, That he made many good Rules therein; if they were not only Rules, but alſo good Rules, why ſhould he not be well paid for them? I don't think theſe kind of Men did very often Ordain ſuch extraordinary good Rules, unleſs you will call thoſe good, which tended to the ſatisfying the Pope's Avaricious Mind, and exalting his  
and

and the Clergies Temporal Grandeur. Other might be their Pretences, but Many doubtless was much of their aim, when they sent their Legates into this Land, or into other Countries owning the Pope's Jurisdiction: and the Event proves it too true. Without all Peradventure, it was not for nothing, that *England* was called the Pope's Pack-horse. Annals, Peterpence, Tenth, First-Fruits, and the like, were good Pickings, that were drawn hence, to *Rome*: And that the Popish Clergy know full well, and therefore their fingers are Itching to be Trading here again. If the Pope's Mule could once more set his Foot safely on *English* Ground, there is little doubt but they would make us pay for old and new, it should scape them hard else.

'Twas about Four Years before, even in 49, that the Citizens of *London* compounded with the King for a Fine of Twenty Thousand Marks, and yet in this Year 53, there is another mention made of it, as it were hinting to us, that it was not yet all Raised, or at least, that all such, that were Assessed towards it, had not returned in their demanded Assessment, but to avoid that and other Charges, had rather chosen to depart from the City with their Households and Goods, and Inhabit in divers other places of the Land. Whence we may without doubt well and truly conclude the scarcity of Coin in those Days, and greatness of that Imposed Tax, or else the Paucity of the Inhabitants of *London*, and smallness of the City, in comparison with what it is at this present time. If then the City was of such Power and Esteem in those Days, as the former passages seem strongly to prove, how great and considerable an Influence, have we reason to believe

leave it hath at present upon the rest of the Nation, now it is grown by far more Populous, and much more Splendid in Riches, Trading, and Buildings. Though many of the Citizens thus fled the City, thinking thereby to be acquitted of the Charge of the aforementioned Imposition, yet I find not that this availed them ought. For the others of the City remaining made (we are told) Instant labour to the King, and had it Granted, That all such, as for the aforesaid cause had carried their Goods out of the City, should be Distrained by the Sheriff of the Shire, where they then dwelled, and forced to pay all such Sums, as they before were Assessed at. Why should not Men take the Bad with the Good? If they desire to enjoy the City's Priviledges in the Day of her Prosperity, there is but little reason, why they should not likewise partake with her in the common Calamity and Adversity.

In September, The Five Citizens, viz. *Thomas Fitz Thomas*, &c. sp ken of before in the Forty Eighth Year, who had hitherto remained Prisoners in *White-Tower*, made an end with *Edward* the King's Son, for great Sums of Money, and were delivered. It would have but little availed them, to have pleaded the Kings safe Conduct before sent them under his Seal. 'Twas money it seems that must buy their Deliverance, Money they had doubtless, and therefore 'tis money they must produce, and so they were fain to do, or at least agree to pay it, before they could get quit out of *Edwards* Power.

The 54th year began (according to the Chronicle) with so hard a frost, that the frozen *Thames* was passable for men and Beasts in diverse places, and Merchandise

Merchandise was thereupon brought to *London* by Land. This Frost was not so prejudicial to their Trading, as the rising and flowing of *Thames* sometime after was injurious and hurtful about *London*, to the Drowning of Cellars by the waterside, and spoiling of much Merchandise lying in them. But these are Misfortunes we know Commonly happening in this transitory World, witness the late Inundations through the great Rains this Spring, and the damage sustained thereby in *Fleet-ditch*, *Hockly* in the *Hole*, and many other places. In this year about the beginning of June we find that the King gave the Rule of the City of *London* to his Son *Edward*, with all Revenues and Profits thereto belonging. Whereupon he made *Hugh* the son of *Orben* Constable of the Tower, and Custos of the City, About the End of *April* he commanded the Citizens to present to him six Persons able to be Sheriffs; Of whom he admitted to that Office *William De Haddystoke*, and *Anketyl De Alvern*, and swore them to be Accountants, as their Predecessors were. These we read presented in *May* following at the *Guild-Hall*, and there charged a new. At these days a new Custom or Toll us'd to be paid the King by the Citizens, which having been let to farm to a Merchant Stranger by *Edward* the Kings Son for 20. Marks yearly, the Citizens unwilling to be under a Strangers Rule, upon great suit made to the same *Edward*, agreed with him to buy the said Toll free for 2000 Marks.

In this year the King had granted towards his Voyage into the Holy Land (which was the name then usually given to *Canaan* the Land of Promise, wherein our blessed Saviour was Crucified, to complete



pleat the works of our Redemption) the twentieth penny of every mans Substance moveable throughout the Land, of the lay fee, and of the Spirituality by the Popes Assent three *Dysmes* to be leaved three years. A politick preterice used in those days to get money, An invention somewhat suitable here to have latter ages found out, and sometimes as beneficial, *viz.* To pretend war with a neighbour Nation, and then get money towards the raising an Army to carry it on. If they could afterwards compass to take money on both sides to lay it again, that was good advantage; but to get money twice to disburse it was double gain, Much about this time tis, that is read in *Steuers Annals* of a *Quo Warranto* set on foot, at an Assembly of Nobles met at *London* by the Kings Command, where, by many, to their no small trouble, were called before the Justices to shew by what right they held their Lands. But it was thought good afterwards, to cease any further prosecution there. After that, *John Warren* Earl of *Surry*, (being demanded on that writ, what right he had to his Lands) boldly drew out his Sword, and said, that therefore he held his Grand-Fathers Lands, and by that would keep them, Wherein doubtless he would not have failed of many Powerful Abettors and assistants, but the Kings Justices too, rigorously proceeded in the affair. We find it cost the Lord Chief Justice of *Ireland* *Allen dela Zouch* his life, and the Earl only a sum of money, notwithstanding that he made that affidavit upon the other before the other Justices of the Bench. He having affirmed by the Oath of 25. Knights at *Worcester*, that he committed not that Fact upon any pretended malice, nor in contempt of the King. this was the Issue of the *Quo Warranto* in those days.

55 was the year, wherein my Author acquaints us, that the Citizens so well contented Prince *Edward*'s mind, that he labour'd to the King his Father for them, and procur'd their Charter in such wise confirm'd, that they should after their Ancient Priviledges choose of themselves a Major and two Sheriffs, which Sheriffs were to have the Offices thereunto belonging to farm, as before had been accustomed, except that instead of 350 *l.* paid aforetimes, for the Fee-farm, they should then pay 450 *l.* But that a *quam diu placuerit* was then thought of, I don't find. After this Confirmation thus granted and pass'd by the Kings broad Seal, upon *July* the 14<sup>th</sup>. we find the Citizens assembled at *Guildhal*, where they chose for their Major, *John Adryan Draper*, and for Sheriff, *Walter Porter* and *John Taylor*: And upon the 16<sup>th</sup>. Presented them to the King, at *Westminster*, *Edward* being present, where they were admitted and Sworn, and *Hugh Son of Otho*n discharg'd of the Rule of the City. Then the Citizens of their free Will (so writes *Fabian*) gave unto the King an 100 Marks, and to *Edward* 500 Marks, which the King well accepted. And soon after they receiv'd their Charter of Confirmation bearing date *July* 21<sup>st</sup>. and 5<sup>th</sup> of the Kings Reign.

The Annals of this year my Author ends with sad mischance hapning in *London*, viz. The falling down of *Saint Mary Bow Steeple* in *Cheapside*; to the slaying of Women and Children.

In the next year 56 he gives us the Relation of another unfortunate accident, that fell out in *Norwich*, through occasion of a fray between some Servants of the Monastery there standing, and some of the Citizens. This was carried on to such an height of violence and fury, that many of the Town were

wounded and slain, and the Abbey with all its buildings, except a little Chappel, burnt down and destroyed. But this afterwards cost the place the death of near upon 30 young Men of the Town, who were Indicted, Judg'd, Cast, Hang'd and Burnt as Occasioners and Executors of that Deed, to the great sorrow of the Citizens, and so much the rather, for that they thought, the Prior of the place was the Occasioner of all that mischief, but he was born out, it seems, and defended by the Bishop of *Norwich*. Hard meddling in those times with any of the Church-men, they were grown so powerful and high Crested : What, destroy goods of the Church ? hah ! In days much later what a difference arose between Pope *Paul* and Fum'd the Commonwealth of *Venice*, upon their Imprisoning an offending Church-man, guilty of no less an offence than Murder ? The Thunderbolt of Excommunication had been but a small matter, had his Pope-ship but had power to have vented his Rage in an higher manner. If the Romish Clergy so domineer over those Countries, which have for many ages continued in Popery, can we Englishmen rationally hope to be free from their utmost revenge, if they can but once get such an head over us, as they have long desired and hop'd for ? No, No, the thinking part of the Nation are all pretty well satisfied of their purposes, Plots, and designs. Let them do their worst, gnash upon us with their teeth and think to eat us up as bread : Let them begin a Massacre, if they durst, as soon as they please, it's much but they'll find, to their cost, free English Spirits in English bodies, who will not so easily be brought to their lure, as they may perhaps have foolishly perswaded themselves, from their converse with a few debauch'd unthinking men amongst

King Henry dyes in the 57th. year of his Reign, while his Son *Edward* was absent in the holy Land. But upon notice hereof he returns for *England*, and in *August* comes to *London*, where of the Citizens he is received with all Joy and honour, and so conveyed to *Westminster*. He had newly got for the Citizens their Priviledges restor'd in his Fathers days; let us now see how matters were carried in his Reign between the City and the Court. We shall find the City a powerful match still, tho she met with many troubles and Enemies, yet she weather'd them out in spite of all attempts. In the second year of this King *Edward* there was a great contest at *Guildhal* about the Major. Certain attempts we hear of made the year before by some of the Citizens, to have made such a Major as they list'd, but being then disappointed of their Accessaries, it was hinder'd for that time, but in this years beginning took further effect. On *Simon and Jude's* day, when *Philip le Taylor*, before chosen Major, should have taken his charge at the *Guildhal*, divers Citizens put him beside the Majors seat, and set therein Sir *Walter Hurvy*, who the year before had been Major. This contention being brought before the King, upon hearing the reasons of both parties, when he could not bring them to an agreement, he took occasion to put both the Candidates aside, and chose *Henry Forwick* for Cullos of the City, who so continued for a time. So ready were some always to deprive the City of the use of her Liberties upon her Citizens disagreement. But if such was the effect of the Citizens contest, what then may we think of those who purposely create those differences, and stir up dangerous animosities among them, upon slight, trivial, worn out pretences, that from the like cause

or occasion the like effect may follow ?

At *Candlemas*, by discreet and wise peaceable means, the forenamed Sir *Walter Harvy* was set in Authority as Major, and so remained the whole year after. In the third year the King confirmed the Liberties of the City, and granted some new.

Thus you see after a storm comes fair weather. In this year we meet with a Relation concerning *Walter Harvy*, how that in the first year of this King, after long controversy and strife with the Aldermen, he was made Major of *London*, at a Folkmoot or Common-Hall at *Pauls-Cross*, and so continued that year; but in this third year occasion was found to remember, and (as the event seems to intimate) revenge it. For being accused of divers perjuries and other detestable deeds contrary to his Oath, for them and for making Assemblies of the Commons, who favour'd him, he was depriv'd of his Aldermanship, and turn'd out of the City Council for ever, and for keeping the Kings peace within the City for the term of his life, was bound to the good behaviour upon the suretiship of twelve persons. 'Tis not unusual for the Commonalty and heads of the City to be at difference each with other. Here's one, who seems a promoter of the Commons power, over-power'd himself by his Enemies, for making assemblies of the Commons, and other Crimes objected to him, true or feigned I know not, however thence was taken a pretence to thrust him out of his former power. These Folkmoots or Assemblies of the Commons seem to have been very displeasing to the chief Rulers of the City, and their power disgust'd, as may be guess'd from the fore-pass'd transactions in King *Henry's* days, where we may remember that the Commons were the men, who

had power allotted them by the Parliament, at their Folkmoot or Common-hal, to grant the King Licence to depart out of the Land for a Season: 'Twere they, whomost firmly adher'd to the Barons standing up in defence of those Parliament Statues made at *Oxford*, but few of the chief Rulers of the City comparatively are noted to have appear'd openly in that fam'd contest of the Barons War.

In the fourth year occasion was taken against *Michael Tony*, upon some demeanours of his in the *Welch War*, to accuse him of Treason, of which he was arraign'd, judg'd and condemn'd, and after drawn, hang'd and quartered. This man doubtless had been a noted stickler in the Barons War, for I find one of that Name among the five persons so long kept in Prison in *Windsor Tower* after the Barons overthrow, till mony bought them out, as is before related. Princes once highly offended may openly profess to forgive the offending party, but they do not however so soon forget him. Tho *David* pardoned *Shimei* during his life, and swore to him not to put him to death with the Sword, yet as good a Man as he was, he charg'd his Son *Solomon* to bring down his hoary head to the grave with blood; and so accordingly we find an occasion was afterwards taken by *Solomon* to revenge his former cursing his Father *David*, by commanding *Benaiah* who went out and fell upon him that he dyed. This year was the famous Statute of *Mortmain* first enacted, that no man should give Lands or Rents to the Church without the Kings Special Licence, which Statute had afterwards many additions annex to it to make it the stronger. For the Lay-fee was in great danger to be devour'd by the Spirituality, such Arts did the Clergy use on mens minds to augment their power and Riches. Tho now

our Courts of Law are fixt at *Westminster*, yet in these Ancient times it was not so, for we read that this King in his sixth year remov'd his Courts of *Kings-Bench*, *Chancery*, *Common-Pleas* and *Exchequer*, to *Shrewsbury*, and afterwards return'd them back again, to the no small damage of the Records thus carried to and fro. This King held his Parliament at *London*, in his seventh year, for Reformation of his Coyn, much clip't and diminish'd. This storm fell chiefly upon the *Jews*, by reason of the Inquest charg'd in *London* to enquire of this matter. Whereupon were cast two hundred and ninety seven persons before the Major and other Justices sitting at *London*, and afterwards Executed at sundry times and places. My Author hath left upon Record, that among these there were but three Englishmen, all the rest were *Jews* or *Jews* born in *England*. Famous is the 12th. year for the Conquering and subjeeting of *Wales* to the English Scepter, and division of it by King *Edward* into Shires; whereupon were ordain'd Sheriffs and other Officers therein, as were then us'd in *England*. *David* Brother to *Llewellyn*, late Prince of *Wales*, who was condemned to be drawn hang'd and quarter'd, as a chief stirrer and beginner of the *Welsh* War, in time of a Parliament held at *Shrewsbury*, was shortly after Executed, and his head sent to *London* to be set by his Brothers, which had been order'd to be plac'd the year before on *London-Tower*. In this year was *Edward* of *Carnarvan* born, the first of our English Kings, since *William* the first, that I read of publicly unking'd, and depos'd by his own Subjects. The great Conduit standing against *Saint Thomas* of *Acre* in *Cheapside* owes his foundation to this year.

The 13th. year may be noted for the Kings seiz-

ing

ing the Franchises and Liberties of *London* into his own hands, on the day kept in Memory of Saint *Pauls* Conversion, so that he discharged the Major *Gregory Rokisse*, and admitted for Custos or Guardian of the City, *Stephen Sandewich*, who continued till the *Monday* following the Purification of the Virgin *Mary*, when being discharg'd, Sir *John Breton* stands upon Record charg'd for the residue of the year. My Author writes that the cause of this displeasure, the King bore to the City, is not shewn of a certainty. He mentions an old Pamphlet, whereby it appears that the Major took bribes of the Bakers, and suffer'd them to sell bread lacking six ounces in a penny Loaf, for which the King was sore displeased, but to him this seem'd no convenient cause, that the Liberties of the City should be seiz'd for one man's offence: Wherefore he rather supposeth it was for a more grievous cause. However it is observable from History, that it was a Common thing in Elder times to seize the Cities Charters on pretences slight enough of any sense, till the Citizens grew so wise, as at convenient seasons to procure new grants and graces, to prevent such seizures for the future: And that it is not still so feasible and practicable, is the grief, I believe, and heart-burning of some in the world.

The 14<sup>th</sup>. year of this King may be accounted famous for the Statutes, called *Additamenta Gloucestria*, made at a Parliament holden at *Westminster*. But in these present papers I think it may be more noted, for what I am going now to relate *verbatim* out of *Fabian*. In this year a Citizen of *London*, Named *Thomas Pyvelysdon*, (the which in the time of the Barons War, before in the story of King *Henry* shew'd, had been a Captain and a great stirrer of the Commons of the said City, for to maintain



the Baron's party against the Kings,) was newly accused, that he, with others of evil disposition, should make Conventicles and Assemblies to the new disturbance of the City, whereof Report was made unto the King, the which remitted the inquiry thereof unto Sir *Ralph Sandewych*, then Custos or Guardian of the City. Then the said *Thomas* with others was put in sure keeping, till the matter was duly enquired of. After which Inquisition made and found, report was made unto the King. Then the King sent down a Writ, and commanded it to be proclaimed shortly after within the bounds of the City, whereof the Effect was thus, that the said *Thomas Pywelysdon*, *William de Heywood*, *Richard de Coundris*, *Richard le Cofferre*, *Robert de Derby*, *Albyne de Darby*, *William Mayo Mercer*, and *Ivo Lyng Draper*, with divers others, to the number of fifty Persons, should be banished out of the City for ever. And if any of the said fifty eight Persons were at that time of the Proclamation voided the City, for fear or otherwise, that they should so remain, and not return unto the City upon pain of Life losing. These being thus discarded, and exiled the City, who it may be would have stood firm to the City's old Liberties and Priviledges, the rest of the Chief remaining might perchance hope the easier to keep the Commons in aw, whatsoever new Customs they should introduce for their own lucre and advantage, tho to other men's dammage. Here you may perceive, how jealous Governours are of all Meetings and Assemblies, but what are of their own constitution and ordering. The Cavaliers doubtless can relate many Stories of their own experience hereof in *Olivers* days. Neither are many of our Coffee-houses, and Club-meetings (I believe) very grate-

ful to some persons in the World, though their open business there is mostly to drink, smoke, talk, trade and the like. By the aforesaid relation we may likewise observe; Once counted an Offender and ever thought so. Here *Thomas Pyweldon* or *Pywelysdon* ( for his name I find diversly Written, though the same man be meant ) a noted man in the Barons War, for which he had suffered deeply after their overthrow, by long imprisonment, and the charge of redeeming his Liberty for a great Sum of money of this same King *Edward*, then only Prince, was nevertheless, after about sixteen years respite, banished the City for ever, on an accusation of attempting a new disturbance. That any thing was prov'd against him, I have not read, besides the mention here of making Assemblies or Meetings. Had there been any thing material found against him, I scarce believe he should have escap't so well with his Life, seeing old Crimes seem to have been remembred, though new faults were pretended. An Act of Oblivion is a very good Plaster in a publique Universal Offence. But whatever Offender of Note, thus pardoned, out-lives the greatest number of those equally reputed guilty with him, and times be so much turned, that the ballance of the Nation leans very much on the governing side, I think that man's life hangs but by a very slender thread, whose safety and security depends only upon Pen, Ink, and Paper, and not upon the Governours natural inclination to justice and honesty, in the constant keeping and observing of his word and promise. When in the late Wars on this side the World, *Messina* in *Sicily* was reduc'd under the Spanish government, by the French's forsaking it, to whom the *Messinese* had before subjected themselves, tho a general pardon was by the Spaniards publicly granted,

granted, whereupon many return'd to the City yet, if my memory deceive me not, there passed no long time, before the publick news told us of the accusing and ( I think ) condemning of a Principal Man of that City, for a new endeavour to stir up another Rebellion and Revolt therein. New accusations and new offences pretended, how unlikely soever, may sometimes serve to blind the unthinking vulgar Herd, but a man of thought doubtless will be apt to suspect, that the old grudge lies at the bottom. How easy and usual it is to suborn false Witnesses against a Man; *Jezabels* practice, and the endeavour of the Chief Priests, Elders, and Council of a much later date may inform a Protestant Reader, if he hath no experience in the world to instruct him.

The Citizens were accusom'd, before this year, to make good advantage to themselves by lodging Merchant strangers, and selling their Merchandize for them, for which they received so much in the pound. But at this time, by means of those Merchant strangers, it was brought to pass, that they hired Houses for themselves and their Wares, so that no Citizen should intermeddle with them, which was to the damage of many particular private men, as well as to the hindrance of the Kings Custom, and prejudicial (as affirms the Book) to the Realm in general by many deceits and frauds used by them. Here was a new Custom disadvantageous to many of the Citizens introduc'd, but for what reason at first permitted, whether to advance Trade by drawing more Forreigners to the City, or else to weaken their power, and bring down lower the Citizens high stomachs, by cutting off some of their gain, and parting their Trade with others, I pretend not to deliver, until I meet with

with better Information my self, than hitherto I have in the point. Certain it is from the story, that the King much advantag'd himself by searching into their fraudulent and deceitful dealings, and punishing them for those offences by a considerable fine. The 15<sup>th</sup>. year was chargeable to the *Jews*, who were fain to pay great sums of money to the King, which they were assessed at, saith the Chronicle; but out of an other Author it is recorded, that the Commons of *England* granted to the King the fifth part of their movables, to have the *Jews* banished out of the Land, which to prevent, the *Jews* of their own Wills gave the King great sums of money. Here then was taking money of both sides: A subtle Court way of Trading. This year there was such a plenty of Wheat, that (according to my Authors Computation) it was sold at *London* for Ten Groats the Quarter, five pence the Bushel: But the next year, through distemperature of the weather, we find the price raised up to 14 *d*. the Bushel, after to 18 *d*. and encreasing yearly during this Kings Reign and his Sons, so that it stands upon Record to be sold at last for 40 *s*. the Quarter and above. The 18<sup>th</sup>. may be remark'd by us for the Kings Honourable reception at *London*, and the punishment of divers offending Justices, Sir *Thomas Weyland*, *Adam Stretton* and others, who being by the Kings order Examined, and found guilty of the Trespasses laid to their Charge, were either out-law'd and lost their goods, or else long imprisoned and deeply Fin'd. A large Catalogue of them and their Fines are to be seen in *Stow's Annals*, whence 'tis observable how suddainly vengeance over-takes Oppressors, let them be never so Rich, High, and Mighty in Office, Power, or Authority, as soon as ever the Kings mind is inspir'd

inspir'd from above to inspect their actions, and punish their crimes. Remarkable is the 19<sup>th</sup>. Year for the *Jews* Banishment, which we find bought of the King by the Commons at the price of a Fifteen.

In the 21<sup>st</sup> year we hear of a Parliament held at *London*, and of the King of *Scot's* coming thither with divers of his Lords. The punishment inflicted on three men, for rescuing a Prisoner from an Officer belonging to the Sheriffs of *London*, by striking off their right hands at the wrist in *Chesepside*, is noted for one of this years actions. Hence let us leap to the 24<sup>th</sup>. year, and there, among that years deeds, we find mention made of a new subsidy, levied by the King upon Wool, going out of *England*, Fels, and Hides, for his War with the *French* King; of his Commanding the Mony, before granted by the Clergy towards the defence of the Holy Land, to be brought into his Treasury upon the Report he had from *Rome* of Pope Boniface the 8<sup>th</sup>s manners; of the grant he got of the Clergy of half their Spiritual and Temporal Lands from a Benefice of 20 Marks and upwards, to be paid in three years: And of the Tax he had also granted him by the Lay-fee, viz. the Tenth penny of their movables to be paid in two years time. If any one be desirous to certifie himself, what Relation *Scotland* stood in towards *England* for many ages before, let him read through the Relation of this years actions in *Fabian's Chronicle*, and there he may be satisfied, if it will conduce to his satisfaction, to find, that *Scotland*, even in elder times, in a sort depended on *England*, and was so far from giving Laws, or an Example and Pattern thereto, that it's Nobles were fain to submit themselves to the King of *England's* Judgment and decree, and do him Homage and Fealty in effect.

by the submission of their King, whom King *Edward* had appointed and set over them. Memorable is the six and twentieth year, for that therein the Londoners obtain'd of King *Edward* (newly come from beyond Sea into *England* and so to *Winchester*) a grant of their Liberties and Franchises, which had in some part been kept from them by the term of twelve years and more, so that they again chose a Major of themselves, whereas in the aforesaid time their Custos or Guardian was appointed by the King, or by such as the King would assign. But we are to understand by the Chronicle, that this was not redeem'd without a great Sum of money. Some Writers it seems fixing it at three thousand marks. As this King had many Wars, especially with *Scotland*, which put him to great charges, and had much money granted him by his Subjects, so he ceased not to devise other ways to raise more, and get what was denied him. For as much as divers men, richly benefic'd in the Land, refus'd to aid him with their Goods, as others had, and for that end had purchased from the Pope an Inhibition, that they and their goods should be free from the King's Taxes, he put them this year out of his protection, a strain of State policy beyond some other Kings, and seisd their Temporalities, permitting them to enjoy their Spiritualities, till they agreed with him. Though this was a warlike Prince, and oft successful in his undertakings, yet the Clergy's power so over-top't the Laity's, that he chose rather to make use of his Wits, than his Arms in dealing with them. So have I read in *William* the Second's days, how when his Uncle, being both a Bishop and an Earl, grew troublesome to him, he seisd upon the Earl and

and clapt him in hold, whereby he caught and revenged himself on the Bishop too, without openly pretending to meddle with a Clergy Man. An offence esteem'd piacular in those days; to such an height of Pride were the Popish Clergy grown. An other practice of King *Edward*, was his suddain Condemning certain Coines of Mony call'd *Pollards*, *Crocardes* and *Rosaries*, in his twenty seventh year, and causing them to be brought to a new Coynage to his great advantage, as testifies the Historian. Among others may be also numbred that Inquisition, he caus'd to be made throughout the Land in the twenty eighth year, which was after nam'd *Trailbaston*. This we find made upon Officers, as Majors, Sheriffs, Bayliffs, Escheators and many others, who had misborn themselves in their Offices, and had us'd Extortion, or treated the people otherwise than was according to the order of their Offices. So vigilant appeared this Prince, and careful of his people, that they might not be abused nor oppressed by their fellow Subjects, when got into power, under pretence of being his Majesties Officers, a thing we know common enough in the world.

In the twenty eighth year, we have mention made of the City of *London's* Splendor and Magnificence, upon the account of their receiving the new Queen *Margaret*, Sister to the *French King*. Thus runs my Authors short Relation hercof. The Citizens to the number of six hundred Rode in one Livery of Red and White, with the Cognizance of divers Misteries broidered upon their sleeves, and received her four Miles without the City, and so conveyed her through the City, which then was garnished and hanged with Tapestry, and Arras, and other Cloths of Silk, and

Riches

Riches in most goodly wise, unto *Westminster*. This is the year, wherein *Fabian* makes the first mention of *Pierce of Gaviston* in his Chronicle, upon Occasion of the Bishop of *Chesters* complaining to the King of him, his Eldest Son *Edward*, and others, for breaking the Bishops Park, and riotously destroying the Game therein. For this was the aforefaid *Edward* and his Accomplices Imprisoned. So that under this famous King, the very next Heir apparent escap'd not the Lash of the Law, when he had offended, even to an actual Imprisonment; so far were men in those days from asserting him to be above the Law, and not Liable to condign punishment, because the next Heir. Afterwards the King Banished the aforefaid *Gaviston* out of *England*, for fear lest he should debauch his Son: But this Banishment was after his death annulled by his Son *Edward*, when King, to the great trouble and vexation of the Land afterwards. The twenty ninth may be esteemed not unworthy of remark, for the Kings giving to *Edward* his Son the Principality of *Wales*, whereunto he likewise joyn'd the Earldom of *Cornwal*, newly Vacant, and return'd to the Crown.

In the 33<sup>d</sup>. year we read of the taking, arraigning, drawing, hanging, and quartering of *William Waleys*, who, of an unknown low birth, became the head Leader of the *Scots* against the Kings Power, and had Created him no little trouble in *Scotland*, but now in revenge was his head set upon *London-Bridge*, and his four quarters sent into *Scotland* to be set upon the Gates of some Towns in that Land. About this time we hear likewise of several Nobles of *Scotland* coming to the Kings Parliament, at *Westminster*, and there voluntarily  
Sworn,



Sworn, in the Presence of the King and his Lords, to be true to the King of *England*, and to keep the said Land to his use against all other Persons. Among these is named *Robert le Bruce*, who not long after sends to the Pope for a dispensation of his Oath, raises more Commotions in *Scotland*, and gets to be Crowned King thereof at *Saint Johnstons* : Anno Thirty four. But when King *Edward* had overthrown the *Scots* Army, and taken many of the Nobles, he sent the Bishop of *Saint Andrews*, and *Bastoon*, with the Abbot of *Seoon*, to the Pope, with report of their Perjury, and how they were taken Armed in the field to shed the blood of Christian men. And the Temporal Lords he sent into *England* to the *Tower of London*, who were afterwards Arraigned at *London*, and put to death, and their Heads set upon *London-Bridge*. The longest Sword carries away the Bell. If the *Scots* had prevail'd in the like sort against King *Edward*, it's a question whether they would not have done much after the same manner. How would they have then vaunted themselves and their Cause for the most rightful, whereas being Conquer'd they suffer'd as Rebels? That the weakest goes to the Wall, is a known saying. Yet as strong, powerful, and successful as this King *Edward* was, we find he cared not to meddle himself with the Spiritual Lords taken in the field fighting against him, but rather chose publickly to send them to the Pope, with an high offence laid to their charge, to be punished at his pleasure. Whereby we may presume he gratified the Popes Ambition, in making him as it were the sole Judge of their offences, and yet thereby doubtless secur'd himself against those men of the Church, his late Enemies, for the future. Could the Pope in Civility and

Grati-

Gratitude refuse to revenge the King, in punishing these Clergy-men for fighting against him, who had thus highly mounted the power, and Authority of the Triple Crown above his own, in this matter, to the publick view of the world? If the Popish Clergy in those times were grown so formidable, that this Triumphant King, in the midst of his Victorious Arms, thought it safer to remit these Clergy-men's offences to the Popes Correction, than punish them himself, (for I think it was policy more than zeal that made him act thus) what weak matches were the other Puny Princes to them in those days of their worldly Prosperity, Pomp and Grandeur? Now their wings are pretty well clipt, by the escape of so many people, Nations, and Countries out of this Popish House of Bondage, let Crowned Heads and free States be careful, that they suffer not the Popes wings to grow again, or permit their Sworn Vassals the Jesuits to imp them anew with fresh Feathers, lest they mount up again over their heads to their Ancient greatness, or take a flight higher than ever they did. Now the *French* King through the sole connivance of some, others Treachery, and many great Mens careless negligence, is become *Europe's* Terror, if Popish Plots and designs should once so far take effect, as treacherously to deprive our present King of his life and Crown, and introduce a Popish Successor into the English Throne, how far they might in time proceed towards the extirpation of that pestilent Northern Heresy (as Mr. *Coleman* out of his Extraordinary kindness to the Religion, from which he himself apostatiz'd, has been pleas'd to term the Protestant Religion) or of these parts of the world, I submit to the better Judgments of more able Politicians.

Hast we now hence from this *Edward* the first (who died in the five and thirtieth year of his Reign, after a charge given to his Son in divers points upon his blessing, and Oaths taken of some of his chief Nobles to keep the Land for his Sons use, and to Crown him King as soon as they conveniently could after his death, at *Burgh*, upon the Sands beyond *Carlisle*, in his return into *England*) unto *Edward* the Second, where I could find matter enough to exercise my Pen, were I minded to describe all the disorders and troubles, that hapned throughout the Land, under his unprosperous Reign. We need not wonder, that this Prince met with so unhappy a fate at his End, when as we find him at the very beginning immediately transgressing his dead Fathers commands, by recalling *Gaveston* from his Banishment, (contrary to his Father's charge on his Death Bed, he entailing his curse on him, if he should presume it, as *Stow* tells us) governing himself wholly by his advice, affecting him so much, as to affirm, that he should succeed him in the Kingdom, if he could effect it. If I should endeavour perfectly to delineate the many Crosses, Losses, Battails, and Bloodshed, that fell out in the Land under this King, and to Write in a stile and manner suitable to the matter, I know not but I might well dip my Pen in Blood instead of Ink, such were the misfortunes of the Land, and unfortunate fates of many Noblemen thereof. For in his Reign there were Beheaded and put to death by Judgment upon the number of eight and twenty Barons and Knights, (as *Fabian* computes) besides the Noble men slain in *Scotland*. The number whereof one Author expresses to amount to two and forty, besides sixty and seven Knights and Barronets; and two and twenty more.

over that of name taken in that one Battel of *Barnockburn*. Unsteadfastness of manners, and vileness of Conditions, the refusing the Company of Lords and men of honour, and haunting the Society of Villains and vile Persons: The being given to great drinking, and lightly discovering therein things of great Counsel, with many other disallowable Conditions related by Historians, were blots in this Kings Scutcheon. Scarce was old *Edwards* Obsequies fully finished, according to my Author, but the young King sends in all haste for his old Companion *Piers* of *Gaveston*, receiving him with all joy and gladness, and advances him to much honour, gives him the Earldom of *Cornwal* and Lordship of *Wallingford*, rules all by his wanton Council, and follows the appetite and pleasure of his body, not guiding things by order of Law or Justice. Then he Revenges himself, and his favourite *Gaveston*, on the Bishop of *Chester*, (who had before complained of them and their Outrages in his Fathers Reign) by commanding him to the *Tower* of *London*, and keeping him there strictly many days after. When by the means, motions, and words of many potent Lords of the Realm, *Gaveston* was again sent out of the Land, though contrary to the King's pleasure, and banish'd into *Ireland*: Yet thither we hear of the Kings sending him oftentimes secret Messengers, and comforting him with many rich gifts, and the next year we read of his being fetch'd home again to still the grudges springing up between the King and his Nobles, and continue amity amongst them, which prov'd but so much the more mischievous to the Realm: For this exorbitant Favourite's power more and more encreasing, he, having the keeping of the Kings Treasure and Jewels, convey'd

many of them, some of great value, out of the Land, and brought the King by means of his wanton Conditions to manifold Vices, as Adultery and others, whereupon by the Lords Counsel and Resolution taken at *Lincoln*, he was shortly after exil'd into *Flanders* to the Kings great displeasure. In comes *Gaveston* again, though he had before abjur'd the Realm, with this condition by the Barons added, that if he were found again in any Lands subject to the King's dominions, he should be taken as a Common Enemy and Condemned. But being recall'd by the King, he ventures on his favour, and afterwards demeans himself worse and worse. In so much that we read, that he disdain'd the Lords of *England*, and of them had many spiteful and slanderous words, so that there's the less wonder, that the Queen and the whole Court were sorrowful, because they saw the King (as *Stow* words it) not very sound, so great was his Joy and Jollity for his receiving him in safety. Whereupon the Lords of one mind (saith my Author) consented to put him to death, which they soon after effected by taking the Castle wherein he was, and so having him in their hands smote off his Head. For this was the King grievously displeas'd with those Lords, and vow'd, we hear, to revenge his Death, so that after this he sought occasion against them, to grieve and displease them. If the foremention'd disorders, with many before express'd by Authentick Writers to have fallen out under this King: If Treachery, Robberies, Rapes, Extortions, Divisions, Civil discords at home, flights, contempts, and losses abroad, and much blood-shed in Battels, fought and lost, both at home and abroad: If murrain of Beasts and scarcity of Grain, dearth of Vi-

Actuals

equals, sickness and mortality of Men, ravages and  
 outrages of cruel insulting Enemies, and almost a  
 general desolation, in several places of the Land,  
 be glories, that can eternize a Man's memory to  
 succeeding Generations, I know not whether this  
 Kings Name and Reign may ever be forgotten, as  
 long as *England* stands a fixt Island in the midst  
 of the Ocean. In the midst of these troubles and  
 crosses, you are not to suppose, the City of *Lon-*  
*don* scap't free from partaking in the Common  
 misery of the Land. In the first of this King's  
 Reign, I find that he, and his new Married Bride  
 were received joyfully by the Citizens, and so  
 conveyed to *Westminster*, but the times afterwards  
 grew so cloudy, and full of storms, that I don't  
 think they had over much reason to rejoyce, more  
 than the rest of their poor distressed fellow Subjects.  
 Yet Providence in good time delivered the City out  
 of these troubles, and with advantage too, as may  
 be observed and remark't in the end of this, and  
 beginning of the next Kings Reign. Twice more  
 particularly, in this Kings Reign, do we read of a  
 breach made on the Cities Priviledges, by con-  
 straining the Citizens, at their own charges, to  
 raise and maintain a certain number of Soldiers,  
 and send them whether they were appointed, but  
 the last time, it seems, it was conditionally, that  
 it should not be made a President, which possibly  
 was to appease them, when they refused to go out  
 of the City to fight, unless they might according  
 to their liberties (as *Stow* says) return home a-  
 gain the same day before Sun-set. For 'tis plain,  
 how great soever their respect was towards their  
 Sovereign, that they had no great kindness for  
 some about him: And therefore, when aid and  
 assistance was requested of them against the Queen,

who with her Son *Edward* was newly Landed, and pretended Reformation of abuses, they made this plea or excuse, as favouring rather Reformers than makers of Grievances, yet with profession of due obedience and Honour to the King, the Queen, and their Son, who was after his Father the Right and Lawful Heir to the Crown.

At the Parliament of *Whitebands*, held in the twelfth of this King, whether the Barons came in Arms, the Citizens were the Keepers of the Kings peace in the City; a thousand of them well Armed, by the Majors order, watching by day, and as many by night, in divers Wards, and at several Gates thereof, under the inspection of two Aldermen, with Officers assigned to Ride about every night to oversee them, and the rest of the Citizens were enjoined to have their Arms in readiness upon a very short warning for more surety. And what pray now was the effect of all this, but that the peace was kept, the City guarded it, and no disturbance hapned that I read of, notwithstanding there was so great an Army then on foot? Ill men were removed, several things were ordained for the good of the Realm, Transactions were carried on without violence, or blood-shed, the Parliament was peaceably dissolved, and every one returned home in quietness, safety and security. But on the contrary, afterwards, in the later end of this Kings Reign, when the Courtiers were much disgusted in the City, by reason of many violences committed, and much harsh dealing used by some towards their fellow Subjects, in the time of their power, under the wings of Authority, and pretence of Law and Justice, the Citizens were so far from keeping the  
Kings

King's peace, as before, that they soon shew'd openly their favour, good will, and kindness for the Queen, who, under the glozing pretence of reforming the ill Government, was come into the Land with a considerable force of Soldiers, and had sent to the Mayor and Commonalty for their aid, help, and assistance in carrying on this her pretended Reformation; A work generally highly acceptable to all such, as think themselves oppressed, and glorious in the Eyes of the people; but such is the misery, fate, and infelicity, the frailty and imperfection incident to all sublunary attempts, that it very seldom, if ever, fully answers the expectation of every one concern'd. Neither was the Citizens affection to the Queen, and her Party, barely shewn in words and expressions, but it went much farther, and was publickly brought into Act by beheading such, as they took to be the Queens enemies, not so much as sparing the Bishop of Exeter himself, a great man among the spirituality, who had been there left by the King to have the Rule of the City in his absence. The occasion is said to have sprung from his stiff and peremptory demanding of the Keys of the City Gates by virtue of his Commission, which highly exasperated the Commons against him, and so much the more, because (as was the saying) he had rais'd an Army to withstand the Queen, a fault then thought unpardonable by the Londoners, who in words and deeds espoused the Queen's Cause, seis'd on the Tower of London, and kept it for the Queens use, and not long afterwards received her into their City with great Joy and Honour. A demonstrative evidence in my opinion of the City's strength and power. For it London, when she pleas'd, could maintain the King's peace in the midst of



Arms (as was shewn above) so inviolably, as that none dar'd in opposition to break it ; and afterwards, in the very same age, and within the compass of half a dozen years, did actually assert the Queens cause, and assist her in her proceedings (as was pretended) for Reformation of the Realm, tho the Consequence thereof was in truth the unfortunate Kings resignation, what greater instance can there be , to shew her great influence upon the whole Nation in those unsetled times ?

London having so visibly appeared in favour of the Queen, the Prince, and his party, and contributed so much towards this notable revolution of affairs, we have no reason to think, but that, out of Common gratitude, her Citizens were to be abundantly rewarded, and that they themselves, out of self interest and natural Prudence, would so well and wisely look to their own affairs, as to make hay while the Sun shines, to the procuring new grants and Graces, and so accordingly we find the event. For in the first year of Edward the third, *Fabian* tells us, he confirmed the Liberties and Franchizes of the City, making the Major Chief Justice in all places of Judgment within the same, next the King, every Alderman, that had been Major, Justice of Peace in London and *Middlesex*, and such, as had not been, Justice in his own Ward: Granting them also the Fee-farm of London for three hundred pounds, and that they should not be constrained to go out of the City to fight, or defend the Land for any need. A privilege greater, than what was claimed, as their liberty, in his Fathers days, when unwilling to engage against the Queen and Prince, they refused not to go out, on condition of returning the same day, as is related before. But the

most beneficial of all the grants was, that the Franchises of the City should not be seized into the Kings hands, but only for Treason or Rebellion done by the whole City. It having before been a Common thing to have their Liberties seized on, (as hath been plainly manifested in the Precedent Relation) on almost every petty disgust, conceived by the Court against them, were it but for the pretended offence of a particular Officer, or for money alledged to be owing by the City to some great ones at Court, or some such like small trivial pretence. But now at this time they took such care, to have their Liberties settled and secured by this Royal Grant, that it may be thought almost, if not wholly, a thing impossible for the City to forfeit her Charter, and have it justly, according to that grant, taken from her. The bringing of *Southwark* under the Rule of the City, and the power allowed their Major to appoint such a Bailiff there, as liked him best, was a very advantageous favour, at the same time, by this King *Edward* bestowed on *London*, but not comparable with the former grant, which may most deservedly be esteemed Paramount to all others. A particular Officer may offend, and oftentimes does, nay many may; but for a City, a whole City, so great and glorious a City, as *London*, Traiterously to Rebel, and so forfeit all her Liberties, Priviledges, and Franchises at one clap, seems to me so great a contradiction, as to imply little less than an Impossibility in Nature, not to go a step or two higher. This King being one of the most powerful Princes of his time, and in the strength of his age very successful in his Wars against the French King, 'tis not for us hastily to imagine, there was any occasion given for so wise and good a King to contest

test with his Subjects, much less with his Loyal Citizens. We are rather to expect to hear of the City's Triumphs and glory, the Joy and rejoicing, wherewith she often received her Victorious King returning Conquerour from *France*, the frequent Justings, Tiltings, and Tournaments shewn thereat for his Recreation and entertainment, the Wealth, Riches, and Ability of her head-Officers, (whereof one, to *Londons* great glory, is said to have sumptuously feasted four Kings at once, in the thirty first of this Kings Reign, besides the famous Black Prince, many Noble Knights and others, to whom with the King he gave many Rich Gifts) the splendor of the Citizens in general on publick occasions, and the harmonious concord of all in their own private and particular concerns, relating more especially to the Cities good order and Government. This King may be supposed too great and too good, either to create, or to permit differences and discord at home. He had wherewithal to exercise his Wisdom and valour abroad in forreign Countries, and such success too in his Enterprizes, as might make him, both feared, and beloved, by his Subjects, at one and the same time. Yet notwithstanding, such still was *Londons* power, strength, and resolution to maintain her Liberties, that this Victorious Prince, Conquerour over others, having sent out Justices into the Shires, to make enquiry about his Officers offences, and delinquences, and the City of *London* not suffering (as *Stow* tells us) any such Officers to sit, as Justices, in their City, as Inquisitors of such matters, contrary to their Liberties, he thought good rather to appoint those Justices their Sessions in the *Tower*, for Inquisition of the damages of the *Londoners*, and they refusing, unless conditionally,

tionally, to answer there, and a tumult thereupon arising among the meaner sort, claiming their Liberties, he esteemed it greater prudence, to wave the Justices sitting, as to that place, and forgive all offences, than to enter into a contest with such powerful, tho Loyal Subjects, as the *Londoners* were, and such undaunted assertors of their own rights, priviledges, franchises and liberties. For 'tis plain the City was very potent, so we may, as certainly perhaps, conclude the Citizens no less suspicious of any thing done, under the shadow of this Kings Authority, if but looking towards the least breach of their Priviledges, as the Commons of *England* in general seem to have appeared jealous of their Common liberty, when, upon this Kings laying claim to the Kingdom of *France*, they procured a Law, whereby it was enacted, that the King should not Rule *England* as King of *France*, and so Subject them to the insolencies of a fellow-Subjects Deputyship.

Would you know, what esteem and respect the House of Commons, in this King's reign, had for the City? Look in *Cottan's* abridgment of the Records in the *Tower*, and there you may find the Commons, ever and anon, petitioning the King, that the City of *London* may enjoy all her Liberties, and the King's answers generally to such petitions seem rather to grant, than deny, such their important Requesits, so glorious and gracious did the City appear in the sight of the good people of the Land, or rather such was the influence she had upon the Nations representatives. As to the Common's Desires, that the Counties might conform themselves to the Weights and Measures made in *London*, and the order there made against Usury might be observed throughout the Realm, as if they would have this

to

so famous a City more particularly give Law, as well as example, to all *England*, I pass them over, without pretending from thence to draw an Argument of the City's Grandeur; and likewise Wave the priviledg, by this King, granted the Citizens, that the Officers of the Mayor, and Sheriffs should, from that day forward, use Maces of Silver parcel gilt, as not intending to insilt thereon, as a more especial mark of honour design'd the City above the rest of the Nation in those days; And choose rather to pass on to the last part of this King's reign, wherein, I must needs acknowledge, there was a strong, though short, contest between the King and the Court. But when was that, and how hapned it? 'Twas when the King was grown old, near to dotage, after his good Queen *Philippa* was dead, and he himself, amidst the Infirmities of sickness and old age, indulg'd his own lustful pleasures in the lascivious Embraces of a wanton Mifs, leaving the guidance of his Realm, and all things about him, to so ambitious a spirit, as, under the Wings of his Authority, durst aspire so high as to the hopes of the Crown, against the good Will of the people, and the Title of a person much more affected and beloved at *London*. The contest was short and sharp, as may be seen in *Stow's Annals*, where it is plac'd in the fifty first, i. e. the last year of the Kings Reign: So short, as not taking up the whole space of time, between *Christmas* and the latter part of *June*, wherein the King died; and yet so sharp, that the Cities Priviledges were in great danger, menaces there were of deposing the Major, (which was at length actually done,) and of Creating a Captain in his Room, with many other things threatened against their Liberties: And all by the arts, devices, and contrivances of the aspiring Uncle,

who would fain have mounted up into the Throne of the Kingdom, over his young Nephews head, but that the *Londoners* opposed him in his designs, both honourably, and succesfully too. So far were they from being Hector'd, or trapan'd, into a bale Compliance with this Ambitious pretender, and his flattering favourites desires, who thought to have carried all before 'em, because they esteem'd themselves sure of the Kings Authority, and so lookt upon the principals of the opposite party, if not under a Cloud, at least under a great disadvantage comparatively, such were their fond hopes and pretensions.

In the good Parliament, (as it was commonly called) held in the fiftieth of this Kings Reign, several Reformations had been made, and divers, at the Commons suit, remov'd from about the King, as evil Counsellors, by the Mediation of the Black-Prince; but the Parliament being ended, and he dying, the old King, contrary to his promise, soon recalled the former persons, before removed, and Committed the Government of the Realm again to his third Son; *John of Gaunt*, that aspiring Duke of *Lancaster*, whereby the Tide being turn'd at Court, the storm fell heavy upon some Patriots of the late Parliament, who had been the greatest promoters and occasioners of the before mentioned change, so lately made, of the Ministers of State. Now was the time to remember, and revenge, all things about the King being managed by the Dukes order, who, making use of the Kings Authority, turn'd out and put in at his pleasure, the more easily to bring about his designs, (by his own Creatures now brought in again into the Government and management of the affairs of State) which tended to

no less, than the putting his Nephew, the young Prince *Richard*, ( an Orphan by the Fathers side though not the Mothers ) from the Crown, and setting himself in the Throne, upon the old weak Kings decease. This it seems had been intended by the Duke for some time, but now carried on more vigorously with all the art imaginable.

A Parliament is summoned to meet at *Westminster* after *Christmas*, honour is openly shewn to the young Prince, and his name made use of, by his crafty Uncle, to further and promote his own privy intentions and intreagues; The name and power of the *French*, ( as that they had raised great Armies, and made new Confederacies to blot out the *English* Tongue and Nation ) is likewise made use of, for a stale, to induce the Commons the more readily to part with a good round sum of Mony, to put the King into a good posture of defence, to speak and act as a King; And the old Knights, who in the last Parliament had stood up so courageously in behalf of the Commonalty, are by the Dukes means for the most part remov'd, and Creatures of his own are made the chiefest managers of Parliament-busines; so that now he seems ready to carry almost all things before him: But only there lies a rub or two in the way, that might spoil his bowling, if they were not timely removed. *London* was not, nor would be at the Dukes beck, and therefore 'twas thought dangerous to attempt publickly, what was privately and principally intended, as long as the Laws and Customs of the City were in force. Moreover the Church of *England*, it seems, in those days was look't upon by the Duke, as none of his best friends ( though I don't find but he might have been before, and

was a Church-Man good enough afterwards, as to outward appearance, whatever he was in his heart) and therefore (if *Stow* may be Credited, who writes after *Walsinghams* Pen) he attempted to overthrow it, for that end favouring *Wickliff* and his Disciples, who went then under the name of *Lollards* among the Commons, and were as much hated in those days, for pretended Heresies laid to their charge, (for at that time you must know the Nations Religion was Popish) as the Papists are now adays for repeated Plots, and Conspiracies proved upon them. Whether or no it was to pull down the English Bishops, the better to facilitate his own intents and purposes, that he was a favourer of the fam'd *John Wickliff*, (as *Walsingham*, a great Papist, and also a Monk, affirms) Providence out of the Dukes sinful Ambition raising Protection for the Maintainers of the true Religion, or else that being convinced of the Conformity of *Wickliffs* Doctrine to Truth and Godliness, He, like *Herod*, heard *John* gladly, and did many things at his instance, I shall not now pretend to determine. But most certain it is from the story, that 'twas *London*, not the English Clergy, that put the greatest stop to the Dukes aspiring designs, and dash'd all his Ambitious Intreagues in pieces, to his, and his Favourites no small Disappointment.

For the *Londoners* being enraged at the Dukes threats, and their fury increased against him, for that in the Parliament, the Duke being President, a motion had been made in the Kings name, (over whom at that time 'tis well known how great an ascendant the Duke had) that there should be no more Major of *London*, according to the Ancient Custom, but a Captain appointed over it,  
and



and the Marshal of *England* might therein arrest Offenders, as in other places, (so that 'twas in the Military Officers that the Duke seems to have plac'd most of his Trust and Confidence, as doubtless his Creatures and Favourites in *esse aut posse*) with many other things manifestly contrary to the City's Liberties, at the encouragement of the Lord *Fitzwalter* (who claim'd to be their Standard Bearer by inheritance) they put themselves in Arms, and acted with such an excess of rage and violence, that had it not been for their own Bishop, who pacified them for the time, the Duke and his great favourite *Piercy* had that day (saith the book) lost their lives. But they having timely notice, fled from the people, and applied themselves for safety to the young Prince, and his Mother, who undertook the business, and sent to the Londoners, to make peace with the Duke; so kind and gracious was the good Princess, as to mediate in his behalf, who desir'd in his heart to dispossess her own Son of his right. To her Messenger Answer was return'd by the Citizens, that for her honour, they would perform her Commands, but as to what concern'd the Duke, injunctions were laid on them to will him, that he should suffer the Bishop of *Winchester* to come to his answer, and to be try'd by his Peers, and also permit *Peter de la More* [Speaker of the last Parliament] then by the Duke's means imprison'd to answer for himself, after the Custom of the Law; and as for the third, they said they would account a Traitor, whosoever he should be found. So run the words in *Stow*, which being ro the Duke reported, he became not a little troubled, and not without reason in my opinion, at the Citizen's Answer, and their indignation con-

cciv'd

civ'd against him, since that he interpreted, what  
 they had spoken of, a Traytor to be meant by them  
 of himself, though as to that particular he denied  
 himself to be one. He had been mad, I should have  
 thought, or foolish, if he had presently confess'd, and  
 own'd the imputation. However, from the Citi-  
 zens message, and the Dukes interpretation thereof,  
 'tis easie to conclude, how little they lov'd him,  
 and he soon found it to his trouble and vexation.  
 Jealousies and suspicions generally go a great way  
 among the common people, and are almost as pre-  
 valent as proofs, especially when there is a great  
 man in the Case, whom they dare not openly ac-  
 cuse and impeach, and cannot try for lack of safety  
 and a good opportunity, and he himself is not ve-  
 ry willing to put himself upon a fair trial, and  
 thereby wipe off all aspersions in the common le-  
 gal way of his Country. All his Tergiversations  
 do foment, rather than diminish, the Heats of the  
 people, who have but the more opportunity and oc-  
 casion to think, (and will commonly too think sensi-  
 vily) the less they have to act.

The rough Message, the Londoners sent the  
 Duke, we have heard, but that was not all:  
 They would away to the King too, and acquaint him  
 with the late proceedings. And so accordingly,  
 upon a Council held thereabouts, they sent some of  
 their chief Citizens, either to justify (saith the  
 Annalist) or excuse what had hapned. Long were  
 these a suing to come to the Kings presence, the  
 Duke keeps them back: For they might be apt to  
 tell Tales, or at least remove the preposses-  
 sions, wherewith the Duke and his party doubt-  
 less had fill'd the credulous King's Head. The  
 Duke would fain have stopt their entrance, and

P

put

put them off, but they would not be so serv'd. The Duke tells them, that the King was very ill at ease, and his sickness might be encrease, if he were mov'd to anger by their Speech. A fine excuse, but 'twould not pass. The *Londoners* were resolv'd on't. They were not come to encrease, but mitigate his grief, and their Commission from their fellow Citizens, they sayd, was not to be Communicated to any, but to their Liege Lord the King himself. They were for no Proxies, Advocates, nor Attorney-Generals of the Dukes providing: They would be their own Spokesmen. Well then, at last after much ado they gain access, and shew the King, what had been published in Parliament, as his Will, against their Liberties and priviledges: They excus'd likewise themselves of some of the Commonalties behaviour in the late Commotion, as being the effect of some ill men among the rabble, whereto they were, neither privy, nor consenting; whereupon the King, a little cheer'd up with their coming, answer'd, that he would not the diminishing of their Liberties, No, he was rather ready, if need were, to augment them, neither did any such Resolutions ever come out of his Mouth, and therefore willed them not to fear, but to return and appease the Citizens, and to keep them in Peace. The Dukes faction would have made use of the Kings Name and Authority, to deprive the City of her Charter of Liberties, and endeavour'd to perswade the Parliament Men, that it was the Kings good Will and pleasure to have it so; but, upon the Citizens application to the King, they hear an other tale, the King own'd no such thing, never any such thing came out of his Mouth, he tells them expres-

ly. Set a mark here. Observe likewise the consequence of the Citizens coming to the King, he was a little cheer'd, somewhat better in mind possibly, when he heard the truth of the matter. Before perhaps he had heard strange tales of seditious meetings, Insurrections, Riots, Tumults, and the like, as if none were for keeping the Kings Peace but the good Dukes good party, such stories had they buz'd in the ears of this weak, old, infirm, sickly King, and he as ready to believe all, till disproved by the different Relations of as Credible witnesses. To hear one side only, and stop ones ears to the others silence, is not only a manifest sign of extream partiality, but also the ready way to be impos'd upon by the deceit of lying Tongues, and to be kept always from the knowledge of the truth, where those near us think it their interest to have it so.

About the time of the late uproar, it's said that, the Duke's arms were hang'd up revers'd in sign of Treason, in the principal streets of the City, such was the hatred the *Londoners* had conceived against him; but 'twas in those days as unknown who did it, as 'tis at this time uncertain, who cut the Picture of his Royal Highness the Duke of *York*, the other day at *Guild-hal*. Whether there were any Proclamations, with promises of reward, emitted, to find out the Author and Actor of that deed, I know not of a certainty, as not finding it mention'd in the History: Possibly there were none, or at least they prov'd very ineffectual, which I the rather conclude, because that, when one had made malicious Rhymes upon the Duke, and fastned them up in divers parts of the City, no other remedy was found out against them, but

haply as inefficacious, viz. a Sentence of Excommunication, at the Dukes request to the Bishops, pronounced against them publickly by the Bishop of *Bangor*, the Aldermen of the City assisting him. To be Excommunicated did carry somewhat of terror with it, in *England*, in those Popish times, among the vulgar, and might probably again, should Providence, for our offences, ever suffer Popery to be brought back into the Land; but among Protestants, and knowing understanding men, Excommunication upon every slight account, and trifling pretext, is of little value, esteem, or regard, and no more dreaded perhaps by some, than 'twas by *Rablais*, when he beg'd it as a great boon of the Pope, because the poor Country Woman thought her Faggot Excommunicated, when she could not make it burn. Besides these Indignities put upon the Duke at *London*, in, at, and after the aforesaid Tumult of the Common people, we are told also, that all such, as wore the Dukes Sign or Colours, were fain to hide them, conveying them into their bosoms, so great a fear and dread had seiz'd upon their Spirits. Whether these Colours were Parsons Black, True Blew, Flourishing Green, Orange Tawny, or Blood Red, the Historian hath not so far gratified us, as punctually to set down in his Relation of these transactions. But if I might have leave to pass my Verdict herein, I should be apt to conjecture them to have been, at least for the most part, worn by the Red-letter'd people. What sad Prognosticks may we think our Almanack-makers and star-gazers then gave of the times, when they saw *England* so likely to fall into such Feuds, Factions, and disorders as those of the *Guelphs* and *Gibelins*.

But one good turn 'tis, that Astrologers Prognostications use commonly to be, like the Popish Oracles old Almanacks, soon out of date. The City could much sooner influence the Nation, than they could make the Stars influence the City, in favour of the Dukes cause.

How the Citizens of *London* oppos'd the Duke, we have seen, but he is resolv'd it seems to shew his bitter resentments upon the next opportunity, and accordingly, after the Duke had obtain'd his desires of the two Houses of Parliament, viz. A Poll-Bill or Tax of all the heads in the whole Realm, he caus'd the King to send for the Major, Aldermen, and Sheriffs of *London*, who soon came before him, then very ill at ease, as they were ordered, into his Chamber of Presence; where, after the usual Ceremonies over past, a certain Knight of the Court endeavour'd, by his Ciceronian Rhetorick, and the Eloquence of his Oration, to perswade the Citizens, to confess their great and hainous offences against the King and Duke, and to submit themselves to their Mercy. See here the Kings Name must be brought in, right or wrong, or else the Dukes cause, and pretensions, would signify little. But the *Londoners* were not so to be caught. For they answer'd, they had not Conspir'd against the Duke, neither had there been any shameful thing spoken or done against him, that they did know of, or consent unto, which they were ready to prove before their Sovereign Lord the King, and the Duke himself. The folly of the Common people they affirm'd they could not stay, and therefore request'd of the King, that he would not punish those that were innocent, and ignorant of the *Fact*, but

withal promised the Duke, for Reverence of the King, (observe this) that they would endeavour to bring in the Common people, and compel them by Law to make due satisfaction, and more (said they) we are not able to do for the Duke, that may be to his Honour. Not able to do more, why? What would his faction have had them to have done? Was his favour to have been purchas'd at no less a price, than an intire Resignation of all they had, Bodies and Souls, Lives, Liberties, and Estates at Discretion? Must they have deny'd their senses, and their reason too, in charging themselves with what they neither sayd, nor did, felt, heard, nor understood, to avoid *Scandala Magnatum's* and the Arbitrary Fines of byass'd Juries? Leave we such Terms of accommodation to the insulting power and Pride of Prelatical Consciences, to impose upon their underling Curates. Such is the continued cause of difference between the *Molinists* and *Jansenists* in France, while one side fairly offers, to disallow certain displeasing Propositions, either by themselves, or as *Jansenius's*, if shewn to them in his works, and the other party, as pertinaciously insists upon their rejecting them as his, because the Pope hath so condemned them.

Glad we may easily suppose the *Londoners* were when dismiss'd upon their aforesaid Answer. But it seems the Court was not yet satisfied: For afterwards we read of the Kings sending them a Command secretly, to call all the Citizens together, and, having made a Wax Candle with the Dukes Arms in it, to carry it solemnly in Procession to Saint Pauls, there to burn continually at the Cities charges, which was accordingly performed.

formed by the chiefeſt and richeſt of the Citizens, the meaner commonalty diſdaining to be preſent at ſuch a proceſſion, and therefore with indignation departing home, when they heard the buſineſs, and knew the occaſion of their being call'd together. But neither did this condeſcenſion of the greateſt give the Duke content; he threatned them, look't upon it as a reproach, and took it in great ſcorn, that they had offer'd thus his Arms in a Wax Taper while he was alive, and in good health; notwithſtanding they affirm'd, they had expreſſy done that which his Father, the King, had Commanded them, and would have done any thing, that might have pleaſed him, *i. e.* in reaſon. For peace and quietneſs ſake poſſibly, and out of reſpect to the Kings Majeſty, they would not have refus'd the trouble of putting forth a few honorary Proclamations, nor denied him the Complement of a volley or two of Holla's and Huzza's, if that would have pleas'd. But this did not answer the Dukes Expectations, nor ſatiſſie his Ambitious deſires, they knew, he ſayd, his mind, and were not ignorant how to make ſatiſfaction. Ay; there 'twas: He would have us, ſayd the troubled Citizens amongſt themſelves, Proclaim him King, but this ſhall never be done, and ſo they parted worſe friends than they were before. So much ado was there with one proud, haughty Duke, moſt injuriouſly aſpiring to the Crown, to the prejudice of his better belov'd Nephew, whoſe claim, title, and right had been ſometime before (if I miſtake not in my reckon- ing) ſettled expreſſy by the Parliament, or at leaſt he had been declar'd by his Grand-Father his Heir and Lawful Succeſſor; Yet this the Ambiti-



ous Uncle thought probably easily to have evaded and deluded, though besides the affections, and contrary to the inclination of the rest of the Nation, could he but have prevailed upon the *Londoners*, by threats, or fair words, to have sided with him; But their opposition quite spoil'd the Game, and kept the Duke off the Cushion, a Duke still so Tryumphant were they in Power, Prudence, and Loyalty. Wherefore to satisfy his restless revengeful Spirit, the Duke ceas'd not, till he had got the old Major put out, and a new one Elected, the Aldermen depos'd, and others set in their p'aces: So little did their late Compliance, and humble Proccssion, avail them, while the Commonalty remain stiff, firm, and unshaken, as well by the Dukes power and greatness, as by his Threats and Menaces. He had gain'd a great Ascendent over the weak Kings affections, but yet for all that could not sway this Honourable City to his Interests, and the Interest of his, then prevalent, Faction at Court.

The Citizens Loyalty is plainly shewn, beyond denial, in Couragiously adhering to the Juster claim and Title of the abus'd Nephew, and preferring his Birthright before the Pretensions of his Uncle, who, Ruling the King and those about him, thought also to have over-rul'd the City too. Their Prudence is manifest, in that they wisely chose to yield many things to the times, for peace sake, but when neck and all was in danger, they would not budg a foot, nor stir one step further, to humour all the Dukes in *Kent* or *Christendom*: Neither is their power less conspicuous, who not only dar'd, but did oppose this high minded Duke in the Days of his Visible Grandeur, and

and prov'd a match by far too hard for him. For in a short time comes the News of the Old Kings lying at the point of Death, and presently we have the *Londoners* sending the chiefeft, and worthieft, of their Citizens to the young Prince, and his Mother, then Resident not far from the City, declaring their ready minds, and good wills, to accept him for their true and Lawful King, upon his Grand-Fathers Decease, beseeching him, on the behalf of the Citizens, and City of *London*, that he would have the City Recommended to his good Grace, submitting themselves only to his Rule, and bowing to his Will and Pleasure, under his Dominion to serve, in Word and Deed, as being known to be so much at his Devotion, as not only ready to spend their Goods and Estates for his sake, but also to jeopard their lives in his behalf, as *Stow* expresses it in *John Philpots* Oration, in the beginning of the life and Reign of King *Richard* the second, who was thus undoubtedly settled in the Throne of his Forefathers, by the Cities apparent interest, and visible influence upon the Councils of the Nation, in that great turn and change of affairs.

The Cities power seems plainly demonstrated, give me therefore leave to bring one instance more of their wisdom, caution, and prudence in these dangerous, because unsetled, times, before I pass on to other particulars. The young King being thus entred upon the Government, it was thought good by the King, or those about him, to have some care taken to accommodate former differences, especially such as had hapned between this potent Duke and the more powerful City. Wherefore several persons of Eminency were speedily

speedily sent to *London*, to salute the Citizens in the new King's name, and acquaint them, how the Duke in all things had submitted himself to the Kings will, ('twas time, for 'tis certain he had lost the day, though not perhaps his high-towing Ambition) and that they should do so in like manner, and then the King would endeavour a Reconciliation to the City's honour and advantage. Fair words and large promises. But the worthy Citizens were not Birds to be caught with chaff, much less to be hamper'd in a Noose of their own making. They were for no Resignations it seems at Discretion, though to the dearest Friend alive. They knew the King to be but young, and weak to help them in such a troublesome business, if they should so heedlessly desert their own Cause, and put the staff out of their own hands, by their own Consent. They had enemies enough still, they might think, at Court, as long as the Duke was there, and his flattering favourites, who might possibly over-rule at least, (if not over-aw) the King to their prejudice, should they render all they had at pleasure into his hand, by their own voluntary Act and Deed, when as they knew themselves well able to defend their liberties and properties in a legal way, without hazarding them upon so intire a submission, as was required, without Reserve. Wherefore, upon consultation, this Medium was at length found out, that if the noble persons, sent to them with that message, would be bound to the Citizens, that their submission should not redound to the temporal loss or bodily harm of any Citizen, or prejudice of their City, they would gladly obey the King's Commandment. This those eminent persons

of quality undertook by Oath, and upon their  
 Knighthood : And so, upon this surety, away go the  
 Citizens to Court, and being soon brought before  
 the King, besought him (as the Annalist words  
 it) to reform the peace betwixt the Duke and  
 them, affirming that they were ready in all  
 things to submit themselves unto his will and  
 pleasure, not as though they confessed they had  
 made any fault against the Duke, (consider this)  
 but as men that came at this time for the benefit  
 of peace, and honour, as well to the King, as the  
 Duke, to pacifie the hearts, and mitigate the plea-  
 sure of both. That this was their intent is evi-  
 dent enough from their own request before made  
 to the King, that he would vouchsafe to make a  
 good and profitable end of this discord. For  
 that they fear'd not the Duke, is most certain from  
 the precedent passages, and that they were all of a  
 suddain fallen deeply in love with him and his par-  
 ty, I can hardly believe. No, no, They love the  
 Nephew too well, to dote upon the Uncle; and  
 may they always be so minded upon a good ac-  
 count. The Citizens having thus prudently  
 (though we see not without great caution) re-  
 ferr'd themselves to the King, the Duke readily ac-  
 cepted of this form of peace (as not hoping possi-  
 bly for such an other opportunity, nor expecting  
 so honourable Conditions a second time, if refus'd  
 the first); and upon his knees became Intercessor  
 to the King, to take the cause in hand under the  
 form by the Londoners expressed, and so a Re-  
 conciliation was made between these two contest-  
 ing Parties, the Duke with an Oath promising  
 them his friendship for the future, and in token  
 thereof bestowing a kiss of peace upon each of  
 them

them before the King at the same time : Whereupon the Citizens return'd home with joy and gladness, rejoycing that the Duke was brought to such humility, who a little before had, in great Pride, demanded of them, for his favour, an hundred Hogheads of Wine, and an infinite number of precious Stones. So great a value did this high-flown Duke set upon his grace and favour, till the Citizens of this honourable City, by their power and prudence, had brought down his haughty spirit a Peg or two lower : and that visibly too. For we don't find him, as ambitious as he still continued, so openly aspiring to *Englands* Crown for the future, how successfully soever his Son made a Rape thereon at the end of this Princes Reign, under the pretence of I know not what hidden right accruing to him from his Mother. We read indeed, I confess, in *Cotton's* Abridgment of the Records, that, in the seventeenth of this King, the Earl of *Arundel* laid several things to the Dukes charge, as not honourable for the King to suffer in him, nor fit for him to do, being a Subject, as that he went Arm in Arm with the King and his Men wear the same Livery the Kings did, (which seems to shew much of Arrogancy, and Ambition, to say no more ) besides some other Objections, but herein he was so far justified by the King himself, that the Earl was ordered to crave the Dukes Pardon in full Parliament, in a certain form of words appointed him. In *Stow's Annals* also we meet with an Accusation brought against him, in the seventh of this Kings Reign, tending to prove his intent and design suddainly to oppress the King, and take upon himself the Kingdom, but it seems little notice was taken

of it by the King himself, who was to have lost most, had it been attempted Successfully, and doubtless as little believ'd; otherwise surely the *Schedule*, containing the time, place, and other Circumstances, had not been presently delivered into the Dukes hands, nor the accuser committed at his request to the charge of his near Kinsman, nor the occasion of his violent Death so little inquired into afterwards. The Duke was not so powerful, nor so great a Terror, but the City was as well able still to deal with him, and his whole party, and make as vigorous opposition, as ever, in defence of their Sovereign Lord the King, if occasion should have offered it self. This we have reason to believe was known in those days to all the Nation, much more to the Duke himself, from former experience, who therefore may be suppos'd not any more to have aspir'd openly, whatever secret fires of Ambition lay hidden within his breast; whether or no he design'd and attempted ought by unseen Plots and Conspiracies, I leave to the judicious Reader to believe or not, as he pleases, without speaking to or for in the case. Besides the decree of an over-ruling Providence, Common equity in siding with what was reputed the juster title, natural humanity in defending the young and weak, and a well grounded affection to the Prince, for his Father and Grand-Fathers sake, (one the famous Black Prince, the other the Glorious *Edward* the third their King and Sovereign,) we may conclude the generality of the Citizens had the greater aversion to the Duke and his faction, because he was a known favourer of *Wickliff* and his Doctrines, (whether on a good

ac.

account or only out of any Ambitious Design, I shall not determine in this place ) and so look upon perhaps as little better than another *Julian* the Apostate. For we are to know, that *Londons* Religion, and consequently the Nations, was at that time Popish, and the generality of the People in Town and Country *Romes* Votaries, who had *Wickliffs* Doctrine in as great detestation then, under the Notion of Heresy, as we Protestants have it now in esteem, under the Seal and assurance of Truth. As indeed for many of the ages past, from our ever-blessed Saviours Birth, through which I have drawn the thread of this discourse, and under the succeeding Kings, for above an hundred years, Popery continued the National Religion, under the power and prevalence of which persuasion was the body of the Citizens bred up, who prov'd so famous in their Generations for their powerful influence on the grand concerns of the Nation, in every considerable turn and change of the times before the Reformation : And when *England* was made happy with this blessed alteration, the Cities Power, Strength, and Esteem remain'd the same in effect, as ever, the change of her Religion introducing no change therein, unless for the better, she encreasing proportionably in every age in Wealth, Riches and Honour, as the Nation grew stronger and stronger : And still continues as visibly conspicuous under Protestantism, as before under the Romish Faith; a thing easy to be demonstrated in due time and place.

How influential the Cities actions were upon the Nations affairs, and her Love advantageous to the Orphan Prince, in securing his Claim, Right,

Right ; and Title to the Crown in his Grand-  
 Fathers life time , and settling him quietly on the  
 Throne at his Death , in spite of all the oppo-  
 sition, the deep designs, and daring Spirit of his  
 Aspiring Uncle, *John of Gaunt* , and his faction  
 could make, when they had got the reigns of pub-  
 lick Government into their own hands, through  
 the Old Kings Connivance , hath been the sub-  
 ject of several of the foregoing pages. The next  
 thing of course falling under present considerati-  
 on is to observe, how this Honourable City of  
*London* behav'd her self, after she had lent her  
 assistance to raise this Young Prince , from the  
 meanness of a Subject, to the Royal Dignity and  
 Grandeur of a King, under the Name of *Richard*  
*the Second* ; what place she held in his affections,  
 and of what esteem in the eyes of all the rest of  
 the people. But where shall I begin , and when  
 shall I end ? Sooner may I be wearied with read-  
 ing, and tir'd with writing, than fail of matter  
 to exercise my Pen, so copious is my Subject and  
 so full of Variety. For, in my searches into the  
 Histories of this Kings Reign, I find it plain to a  
 demonstration, that the City carried a great sway  
 amongst all Ranks and Degrees, from the Prince  
 to the Subject, from the King, the Supream, to  
 his subordinate Magistrates , and Ministers, and  
 was highly Honour'd , Rever'd , and Respected  
 among the Nobility, Gentry , and Commonalty  
 of the Land , both in the calm of peace, and the  
 disorderous storms of civil distractions.

I begin first with the Honourable House of  
 Commons , the known representative of the  
 Commons of *England* , and concerning them ob-  
 serve, out of *Sir Robert Cotton's* exact Abridg-  
 ment



ment of the Records in the *Tower*, revis'd by *William Prynne Esq;*, that, in the first Parliament of this King in his first year, among other Petitions of the Commons, there is to be found one particular division, under the Title of Petitions for the City of *London*, wherein the House of Commons become expresse Petitioners ( so great was the Cities influence over their Debates, and so high a respect had they for her ) to the King for many considerable Grants in favour of the Citizens, and to them very advantageous and beneficial: As that all their Liberties may be confirm'd with a *Non obstante*: That they attend upon no Commandment of any of the Kings Officers, but only at the Kings Sute, Sealed with the Great or Privy Seal, except the Kings Justices, according to their Charter: That they shall by themselves enquire of Customs and impositions hapning or arising within the City: That the Major and Chamberlain for the time being shall have the keeping of the City Orphans Lands and Goods; [No small advantage in those times, when the Court of Wards was in being, and greatly beneficial still, by reason of the Deceits many poor Orphans meet with from Cheating, or Insolvent Guardians and Trustees, whereas the City's security is unquestionable and her Credit not in the least to be doubted of:] That the Interpretation of any word or Sentence touching their said Liberties, which may severally be taken, may be taken according to the intent and Claim of the said Citizens: That the City may enjoy all such Liberties as any other Town in the Realm, if they have any other than the Citizens have; That no protection Royal be allowed in Debt, Account or Trespass, wherein a Freeman

of *London* is ten pounds, with several others: By the Answers whereunto we find the Kings Will was, that the Citizens of *London* should in no wise be restrained of any of their Liberties or ancient customs approv'd: Such as were most useful; and advantagious at the present time, were by his Majesty granted, and if any appear to have been denyed, the denyal seems rather conditional, than plain and direct in down right terms: So cautious was the King in his Answers, so careful not to displease this powerful Coporation, and so well advis'd, as not to shew himself ungrateful at his first coming to the Crown, to those, who had so Cordially erewhile espous'd his interest; and so stoutly defended his cause but a little before.

In the sixth of this King, at the request of the Commons the Abridgment tells us, it was enacted, that the City of *London* should enjoy all such Liberties, as they had in the time of King *Edward* the third, or as were to them confirm'd by the King now; and that Victuallers particularly should be under the Mayors Rule, and have no particular liberties by themselves. In the seventh we find it among the Commons Petitions enacted, that the Citizens of *London* shall enjoy all their whole Liberties whatsoever, with this Clause, *licet usi non fuerint, vel abusi fuerint*; notwithstanding any Statute to the Contrary. Whether then 'tis possible for any Corporate body, endowed with so transcendent Priviledges by the publick Act and Deed of the known Legislators of the Land, to forfeit and lose them all of a sudden, Judge ye: At the same time we read of a grant made by the same Authority, that the

Q

Mayor

Mayor and Aldermen should take no other Oath in the *Exchequer*, than they did in the time of King *Edward* the third. How careful were the Commons, do we see in this Age, to prevent the Citizens from being enslav'd in either their Bodies or their Souls? They sha'nt be impos'd upon, by their good Wills, in so much as an Oath, much less have Creeds, Articles and Oaths, by the dozens thrust upon them to Swear and subscribe to. In the same year we have the Commons petitioning the King again in the Cities behalf, (so Sollicitous were they for her good and welfare) That free choice may be made of the most able men for Aldermen, as well of such as were the year before, as of others yearly. See we here the House of Commons pleading for a free choice, an Election without disturbance, threats, or menaces, and that particular Citizens should not be impos'd upon, nor overaw'd: And if they had formerly chosen good Men, and found them so by experience, that they should not be oblig'd next year to pass them by, and choose others, such as possibly might prove friends to them the backward way, and over the left shoulders. The Electors might pick and choose as they please, which is the benefit of a free Election. And as the Commons pray, so the King grants, as long as there is good Government in the City thereby. What could be desir'd more? As long as the Aldermen were lyable to be pass'd by every year, as well as the Common-Council-Men, 'tis very unlikely that they should displease the City, much less thwart and contradict the Common voice of her Citizens for a few sprinklings of Court Holy Water. Observe, this was at the Parliament held

at *Salisbury*, some scores of Miles from *London*, yet 'twas not the distance of place that could breed distance of affection. Remove the national assembly to the other end of the Land, to the utmost Coasts of Great *Brittain*, yet *Londons* Name reaches thither. 'Tis not the place that makes our *Westminster* Conventions so mindful of her, but her Merit, her Power, her Influence, the respect and esteem they have for her Glory, Honour and Renown, to see her ever continue, the fixt unmovable Defendress of the Protestant Religion, under the Defender of the Faith.

In the Ninth, the Commons require, at the petition of the Mayor and Commonalty of *London*, that the Patent lately made to the Constable of the *Tower* may be Revok'd. The reason is plain, 'twas prejudicial to the City, to have the Victuals brought to her, upon her dearest and best beloved *Thames*, made to pay Toll and Custom to another. How Glorious and Gracious must we needs think that City to be in the peoples Eyes, when we find their Representatives, not once nor twice, but so constantly, almost at every turn, pleading her Cause, vindicating her Liberties, and asserting her Rights? And these we know are part of the Legislative power. A general act of Oblivion is a Royal Grant not every day bestow'd upon the Subject, and a grace not often obtain'd without much importunity and intercession. We have reason therefore to believe the Londoners look't upon it as no small favour, that at the Common's request the King granted a Pardon to the Citizens of *London*, in the Eleventh of his Reign, of all Treasons, Felonies, and other offences of loss of life. For so Pardons run, whether the

parties were guilty of such crimes and delinquences; or not; and 'tis a salvo that Wise men disdain not sometimes to make use of, and why should they not, unless a Pardon must of necessity imply a Crime?

We have heard how careful the House of Commons were, under this King, to secure the Cities Liberties, ascertain her Rights, defend her Privileges, and keep off encroachments, that she might not be abus'd nor impos'd on: Let me next have leave, before I pass forwards, to give a hint or two to intimate, how ready the Commons were to free the City from Annoyances, in order both to the Citizens health and the Cities Ornament, that nothing offensive, either to the Eyes or the Nostrils, might be found therein. 'Tis to be seen Enacted, among the Commons Petitions in the sixteenth of this King, that all the filth upon *Thames* side, in a certain place there mentioned, be utterly remov'd against a short time particulariz'd: That the Butchers of *London* build convenient Houses, to hold whatsoever they had noisome in their Calling, thence in due time to be carried in Boats into the middle of the *Thames* at high-water, there to be cast at it's beginning to Ebb, so to be born away with the Tide. And that no Rubbish or the like be cast into *Thames* between *Westminster* and the *Tower* on a considerable forfeiture. Small slight trivial matters some may haply think these to be, and not worth perhaps a remark: Yet to me it seems a manifest sign of the Citizens care and esteem, the House of Commons respect for them, and the influence the City had upon their debates, that they shew'd themselves so willing and ready, at all times, to take into more especial consideration the slightest

and minutest things, so it came recommended to them from the City of *London*, or appeared in their Eyes advantageous to her Inhabitants: And that these had an equal share in making Laws with the Lords, or even with the King himself, is as evident as the shining of the Sun in a hot Summers-day.

From the Commons let us pass to the King and Lords joyntly consider'd. For the esteem the Lords had for the City, when lookt upon as single in themselves, and not expressly united with the King, may best be shewn either when we come to touch upon the Civil distractions of these times, whereof the whole Nation were partakers, or the more immediate afflictions of the City in particular, (as some we may be sure they had in a General Deluge of miseries) my Subject being as yet principally of Proceedings and Transactions carried on in a Parliamentary way, that is or ought to be, in meekness and calmness. What I have chiefly to observe here is in plain words out of the Abridgment of the Records Relating to the Parliament of the seventeenth of this King, where we read it enacted, that it is not the Kings meaning or intent, nor meaning of the Statute made in the twenty eighth of *Edward* the third, (touching Errors and misprisions in the City of *London*) that the Mayors, Sheriffs and Aldermen of *London*, that now are, heretofore have been, or hereafter shall be, should incur, or bear the pain contained in the said Statute, for any erroneous Judgment given, or to be given in the said City. This is one of the three Acts there noted, to be enacted by the King, by the assent of the Lords only: And therefore makes good my

assertion of the respect shewn the City by the King and Lords, as may be made to appear more obvious by giving the Reader the substance of the forecited Statute, still to be seen, among the Printed Statutes, in the twenty eighth of *Edward* the third, Chapter tenth, where we find it ordain'd and established, that the Mayor, Sheriffs and Aldermen, which have the Governance of the City of *London*, shall cause to be redressed and corrected the defaults errors and misprisions above named, and the same duly punish from time to time upon a certain Pain: That is to say, at the first default a thousand Marks to the King, and at the second default two thousand Marks, and at the third default that the Franchise and Liberty of the City be taken into the Kings hand: And it is likewise enacted, that enquiries shall be made of these defaults by Enquests of people of these Forreign Countries, *Kent, Essex, Suffex, Hertford, Buckingham and Berke*: And the receiving and execution of the Writs, as well Originals as Judicials, is committed to the Constable of the *Tower*, or his Lieutenant, in place of the Sheriffs of *London*; so runs the Statute: Whence occasion might seem likely enough to be taken, one time or other, by the Cities designing adversaries, to Hector the Mayor Sheriffs and Aldermen into compliance, by threatening to sue that Act upon them, or opportunity given to treacherous friends, ( foster'd within her Walls, bred up under the shadow of her wings, rais'd and enrich'd through the benefit of her Franchises and Priviledges, and crept into Authority by the overflowings of her favour ) for a lick or two at the publick hony-pot, wilfully to incur the forfeitures, that her Liberties might be  
 seiz'd,

seiz'd, and her good old Charter', as far as in them lies, wholly lost. But such an Honourable respect had both the King and his Nobles at that season for this most deserving City, and so glorious appear'd she in their Eyes, that they seem in a manner resolv'd, as well as highly desirous according to their power, to prevent the very possibility of such ill consequences by this favourable interpretation, that after-ages might not rue for the oversights of former times, if they could help it. For this rather looks like an explanation of the Statute than a Repeal, an Act Declaratory of their good Will and intentions, more than a result of the whole Legislative power of the Nation; here being only the King and his Lords assent mention'd, and not a word of the Commons. And yet possibly this Declaration may amount to little less than a virtual, tho not a formal repeal, if it be joyntly consider'd with what hath been before related, in the seventh of this Kings Reign, concerning the Clause, *licet usi non fuerunt, vel abusi fuerunt*, notwithstanding any Statute to the contrary, to be found enacted among the Commons Petitions of that year, in favour of the Cities Liberties. So that upon this account we find Authority in every part of it concurring in the point. And that it was in favour of the City in General, as well as in behalf of particular persons, is plain from the sense and substance of the original Statute, and the consequential adjuncts thereto belonging. But if any one shall think this conclusion will not clearly follow from the premises, I don't think but I am able to prove it undeniably (as to the part at least of several of the Lords) from Statute Law: As strong an assurance, as we English-men



can expect, as being the boundary of our Lives and Liberties, and giving us the security of all we enjoy, or can properly call our own. The Statute is to be found in the first of *Henry the fourth*, Chapter 15<sup>th</sup>. where after a recital of the before-mention'd Statute of 28 *Edward 3.* (though through a mistake or misprint, it is said there to be made in the seven and twentieth year) we find as follows; 'Our Lord the King considering the good and lawful behaviour of the Mayor, Sheriffs, and Aldermen, and all the Commonalty of the City of *London* towards him, and therefore willing to ease and mitigate the Penalty aforesaid by the Assent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and of the Commons aforesaid, hath ordained and established, that the penalty aforesaid, as well of the thousand Marks, and of the two thousand Marks, and of the Seisure of the Franchises comprised in the same Statute, shall not be limited in a certainty, but that the Penalty in this Case be by the advice and discretion of the Justices thereto assigned. To mitigate it doubtless, not inance it at pleasure, to ruin particular persons and annihilate the City's Liberties, by pretending the loss of her Charter.

How respectful King, Lords and Commons, in Parliament assembl'd, shew'd themselves to this honourable City hath been sufficiently declar'd, prov'd, and made manifest, I presume, already in the foregoing Relation. Let us now call off our Meditations from this particular point, and fix our thoughts upon an other Argument, highly demonstrative of the City's power, drawn from no less uncouth a Topick than tumults and disorders, insurrections and Outrages of unruly people. There having

pass'd

pass'd an Act of Parliament in the fourth of this King, to impower him to Collect and Gather Poll money throughout the Land, and many exactions thereupon, and incivilities being committed by the new Collectors and other Officers, (some of the Courtiers having procur'd the Kings Commissions for a review, and a more exact Collection, under the notion of the Kings being cheated and defrauded through the unfaithfulness of his former Tax gatherers) the Commons thought themselves so abus'd and oppress'd, that in many places they took Counsel together to make resistance, and in several Counties assembled themselves in great numbers, to the no small disturbance of the Land. Amongst these the Commons of *Kent* and *Essex* are reckon'd the greatest bodies, gathered together under such heads, as *Wat Tyler*, *Jack Straw*, and the like obscure Fellows. These we find quickly coming to *London*, where they soon obtain entrance, notwithstanding the Mayors intended opposition, and then quickly carry all before them, behead whom they thought good, do what they would, burn great mens Palaces at their Pleasure, the Gates of the *Tower* are set open to them, the King rides to'm in fear, unarm'd, and ill guarded, at their sending for, and grants them as large Charters as they desired, none of his Courtiers daring to oppose or resist their Insolencies, so that they seem to have had all things for a small season under their sole Power, Direction, and Command, as remaining Masters of the Field, without a stroke stricken by any opposite Party : such a terroure did their numbers and boldness strike into mens minds at the first, and so effectual was their success in getting within the Walls of *London* : either through  
the

the joynt assistance of many Commons there inhabiting, or else rather under the repute of having the whole City at their beck. But when the first brunt was over, and it was visible, that the greatest, best, and most of the Citizens joyn'd not with the Country Commons, to approve or abet them in their furious outrages and violences, the tide was soon turn'd, and deliverance brought, both to the King and Court, by the courage of this Loyal City. The Mayor himself, as their Head, made the first open beginning, was seconded by his Brethren the Aldermen, and quickly followed by the worthy Citizens. He being a man of great boldness, by the Kings permission, first arrested, and afterwards grievously wounded one of the chiefest of the Rebels, *Jack Straw*, saith *Fabian*, *Wat Tyler*, saith *Stow*, to the great encouragement of those about the King, (among whom this Arch Rebel receiv'd his death) and daunting of the Rebellious Commons; to which valiant Deed the City is indebted for *Walworths* Dagger, some say, inserted upon this Account in her Coat of Arms. After this Act away rides the Mayor with one Servant only (the Annalist tell us) into the City, and crying out to the Citizens to come speedily to the Kings assistance, raises a considerable strength, who well arm'd, under the leading of Sir *Robert Knowles*, came in good time into the Field, where the King was, among the tumultuous Commons, not so well attended, but that the unexpected coming of the Mayor, and the armed Citizens, is expressly said to have caus'd rejoycing in the minds of the King, and those few Knights and Esquires then about him; and the Issue acquaints us with the great consequence

In- quence hereof, when we read of the Commons  
 hav- throwing down their weapons immediately, falling  
 the also themselves upon the ground, and beseeching  
 the pardon, who but a little before gloried, that they  
 not had the Kings life in their own power, and so pos-  
 abet sibly might have continued boasting, had not the  
 the Citizens thus rous'd up themselves to the Kings  
 ght relief, and timely dispers't these seditious Rioters  
 cou- in the midst of their insulting Pride. That this  
 him- was a piece of Loyalty, as well as valour, most  
 gin- timely and seasonably shewn, is evident, from the  
 men, great influence what was but barely done at *Lon-*  
 zens. *don*, though without *London's* consent, had upon  
 ings the Countrey. For from the Annalist we are giv-  
 out- en to understand, that there were the like Insur-  
 bells, rections in *Suffolk* and *Norfolk*, and in exprefs words  
 p, to told, that these overthrew Houses and Mannors of  
 King, great Men, and of Lawyers, slew the Students of  
 (ath) the Law, &c. according to the manner of them at  
 s to *London*, having for their Captain an ungracious  
 Wal- Priest, nam'd *John Wraw*, who had been at *London*  
 Ac- just before, had seen what was done there, and  
 way came thence with Instructions from *Wat Tyler*. So  
 nna- that what's done in the City is very likely to be  
 o the imitated in the Countrey. A disorderly Rout of  
 ance, people were got together round about and within  
 un- the City, and committed many unsufferable Out-  
 good rages, and several parts of the Countrey were re-  
 mong solv'd to follow the Fashion, and do the like. The  
 ded, Citizens courage quell'd these Tumultuous Com-  
 ayor, mons in *London*, and then they were quickly sup-  
 have press'd, we hear, in other Places. Then had the  
 and King reason to reward the Mayor, and several Al-  
 him dermen, with the honour of Knighthood and other  
 conse- recompences, and time to assemble an Army of his  
 ence Loyal

Loyal Friends and Subjects at *London*, to guard him, till the Principals of these dispersed Rebels were brought to condign Punishment by Law, which was quickly done, thanks to the worthy Londoners, who had thus vigorously asserted the Kings Right, defended his Royalty, rescued his Person, and regained him the exercise of his Kingly Power, well near lost before, through the Rebellion of his meaner Commons, and cowardly Faintheartedness of his Courtiers; Men it seems that could speak big at the Council-board, and talk high upon the Bench, under the shelter of the Kings Authority; but when they were to come into the Field of War, to fight for their Prince, they prov'd meer Courtiers, all words and no deeds. The Citizens were the Men of valour. They lay still, the King was like to be undone, and the Court ruin'd. They appear'd to oppose the vaunting Enemies, they fled before them, and the King regain'd his own.

This one famous City, the terror of her Enemies, the joy of her Friends, cooperates in the grand turns and changes of affairs in the Brittish world, or else such attempts, for the most part at least, if not always, prove vain, fruitless, and insignificant. And where's the wonder of this? The whole City, as a compact Body with Strength and Beauty fitly united, may well be esteemed most amiable, and counted highly powerful, since she is to be admired for the goodness and greatness (under which comprehend the large Riches, Power and Spirit) of particular Citizens incorporated into Her. For the first, let me instance in the commendable diligence of her Mayor *Adam Baume*, who, upon a very great scarcity of Corn in the fifteenth of this King,

pro-

providently took care to have Corn brought to  
 London from forreign Parts, to the relief of the  
 whole Realm; and add hereunto the Charity of the  
 Aldermen, who, for the furtherance of so good a  
 Work, laid out each of them a sum of mony, in  
 those days very considerable, to the same purpose,  
 and bestow'd the Corn thus procur'd in convenient  
 places, where the Poor might buy at an appointed  
 price, and such, as had no ready mony, upon Sure-  
 ty to pay the year following, besides the common  
 Act of the Mayor and Citizens in taking two thou-  
 sand Marks out of the Orphans Chest in *Guildhall*  
 for the same intent. In Proof of the later, viz.  
 The Greatness, Riches, Power and Spirit of par-  
 ticular Citizens, I challenge all the Cities in the  
 world besides, to shew me such another Example,  
 as that of *John Philpot* Citizen of London, the Ci-  
 tizens Orator to this King in the beginning of his  
 Reign, who in the second year, observing the  
 young Kings inability, the Nobles neglect, and  
 the oppressions of the poor Commons, voluntarily  
 hir'd Souldiers with his own mony, rig'd out a  
 Fleet at his own charge, and hazarded his own  
 Person, to defend the Realm from Pirates, Robbers,  
 and incursions of Enemies, and therewith success-  
 fully took in a little time *Mercey* the Scot with all his  
 Ships, which he had before violently taken from  
*Scarborow*, and fifteen Spanish Ships besides laden  
 with much Riches, which came to his Aid. Can  
*Rome* her self shew me a like Parallel? As for the  
*Fabij*, they were a whole Family among the Patri-  
 cians, and *Craffus* himself a great Magistrate in the  
 height of that Common-wealths Grandeur amidst  
 Equals and Inferiors, whereas this publick-spirited  
 Person liv'd still a Subject, under a limited Mo-  
 nar-

narchy, none of the greatest nor the strongest then in the World. This noble Act some would have thought should have deserved great praise and commendation, and so it had among the Common People, but among the great Lords and Earls it met with Reproach and Detraction, as being a manifest reproof of their carelessness and negligence, and he himself was endanger'd thereby, they speaking openly against it, as done unlawfully without the Council of the King and his Realm, though his design could not be denied to have been very honest in the general. Had he suffered for that unpresidential Act, because it was deficient in some formalities required by Law, the Statesmen of the times, therein instrumental, without all peradventure had appeared as odious in the Eyes of the Commons, as some of the chief Episcopal Clergy-men, in a Protestant Country, within the Memory of Man, would have made themselves obnoxious to the Peoples Censure, should they have publicly burnt *Vindiciæ Pietatis*, i. e. a Vindication of Godliness from the imputation of folly and fancy, ( which I have heard intimated as if thought of ) because it wanted such an Imprimatur as the Law demanded, and was writ possibly by an Author not altogether Episcopal in his declared Judgment.

But to pass on, If such were the supererminent and supererogating Acts of particular Citizens so many Ages ago, to what an height of Wealth, Greatness and splendor must we needs think the City to have arriv'd at this day, some Centuries of years since that time? If ten thousand Pounds was a Mayors Estate heretofore, we may give a shrew'd guess at the Cities advancement and encrease in Riches since, now that the same is made the limited sum, for the

the Citizens to swear themselves not worth, who desire to avoid the chargeable Honour, and Honourable charge, of the Shrievalry. Nay, to go a step or two further, now adays we find her Sheriffs Revenue commonly reputed at double the value, and others of her Citizens thought able to number their thousands by scores. What if I had also added, that some are esteem'd so wealthy, as not to know an end of their Riches? Certainly such, if any, must needs come under the denomination of men vastly rich in worldly goods. So that this glorious and Triumphant City seems in many things able to vy with, if not out-vy, the *Quondam* Mistress of the World, *Rome* her self. She exceeds her in Antiquity, as being founded (in *Fabian's* Compute) above four hundred years before her, and hath this advantage of her now, that whereas *Rome* is confest and acknowledged to be in the wane of her power and Greatness, both as to her Civil and Ecclesiastical Authority, *London* still continues on the rising hand. *Rome* 'tis visible hath suffer'd a considerable diminution, as to her former extent and Jurisdiction, in both capacities, whether she be lookt upon, as, once head of the world, or now pretended head of the Church, but *London* plainly appears to be dayly getting ground both in Fame and Reputation, as well as building: And whereto she may come in time, belongs to a Prophet not an Historian to declare. She is already become the Fam'd Metropolis of this our little World, and *Rome* was but Empress in a greater: Neither was she anear so influential over the greatest part of that, how much soever thereof she had under her Dominion, as *London* is known to be at present over all ours.

Ha-



Having thus shewn the influence this Honourable City shad upon the Commons of this Land in Peace and amidst tumultuous disorders, and the great respect both King and Nobles in Conjunction had for her, I should now proceed to disengage my self of an obligation, I presume, lying on me, from part of a promise before made, to declare the esteem the Lords, when singly consider'd, had of her strength and power. But before I pass on more immediately thereto, I crave leave to observe the great variety and difference in Parliamentary transactions and proceedings under this King, within the compass of whose Reign we find but two years on Record, viz the nineteenth and twenty second, wherein there was not a Parliament called and assembled in one place or other by his Authority, sometimes oftner, and so those Acts of *Edward* the third were exactly kept for eighteen years running, *wherein it is ordained and established, that a Parliament shall be holden once every year, and more often if need be*, which being omitted but one year in twenty one, and not observed in the twenty second, we may easily think it prov'd fatal to the unfortunate King, that in the next Parliament he should be depos'd by his own Subjects and the Crown set upon anothers head. And is it any wonder, to see things so injurious and unjust sometimes done in National Assemblies, when in a vein of contradiction they make Ordinances so diametrically opposite each to other, as was done in this Kings time? For we find parties mutually clashing in publick, and what was ordain'd in one Parliament for the Commons good (as was then pretended) by an other repealed in favour of the other side,

former

former Laws Annull'd, Pardons revok't, Grants recall'd, and new punishments inflicted for old offences. And yet in an other Revolution, within a very small space of time, the last Parliaments Acts were cather'd and thrown out of doors to make room for the revival and Establishing the Elder Parliament Statutes. Such changes were then Rung, and so much contesting between Priviledge and Prerogative, as if the differences were wholly and altogether irreconcilable, or at least made to seem so by some mens policies, the better to carry on their own more particular Intreagues. And therefore, when fair words were fear'd not likely to prevail, Arms were prepar'd to force, and there was danger of having Swords drawn, Bows bended, and Arrows shot for the promoting the designs on foot.

But of all Statutes, Acts, Ordinances, Laws, and Grants, most memorable and observable is the Petition of the Commons, and the Answer thereto given, in the Parliament begun at *Westminster*, *April 25th.* in the second of this Kings Reign. The Petition is to be seen among the Commons Petitions in *Cottons* Abridgment of the Records in the *Tower*, so often mention'd, and Printed 1657. pag. 169. *Tit. 28.* in these words, That Answer reasonably may be given to all their Petitions now, or hereafter to be moved; and that Statutes be thereupon made before departure of every Parliament. The Answer hereto runs thus, such Bills as Remedy cannot otherwise be had but in Parliament, reasonable Answer shall be thereto made before such Departure. Now we are to understand, that Petitions, in the old, are Bills, according to the new Stile, which in this Parliament were thus ordained to be produc'd at

R

least

least for the Royal Assent, if not to be passed formerly into Laws. So that if the Houses were so minded, by straining this grant to its utmost bounds (though perhaps further than was design'd at the first) 'twas no hard matter for them to sit e'n as long, in a manner, as they pleas'd; and the old King of late Memory, his present Majesty's Royal Father, may hereby very easily be vindicated from the Censures of those undutiful Subjects, who pretend to blame his conduct, and Arraign, if not condemn, his Judgment for passing the continuing Act in the Parliament of forty, whereby he more plainly and immediately put the dissolution thereof out of his own hands; whereas before he had been haply lyable to have been trickt out of it, with greater affront to his Prerogative, by the quirks that nimble wits would have been apt enough at that conjuncture, to have started out of this Grant. For what would not they have attempted in that posture of affairs, who actually did so much afterwards by the noise of an Ordinance, a term new to the vulgar, but well enough known (though possibly never in that use and extent before) to the Learned Lawyers, who can easily inform the Questionist, out of the Records in the *Tower*, that in the thirty seventh of *Edward* the third they met with the name and nature in a demand of the Chancellors to the whole Estates, whether they would have such things as they agreed on, to be by way of Ordinance, or of Statute; and in the Answer thereto made, by way of Ordinance, with this reason then and there given, that they might amend the same at their pleasure.

If we wonder at this grant, which seems to trail after it such inconveniencies to the Regal Power,

as were before hinted, or at least might be made an Inlet to pretences, as prejudicial to the Royal Prerogative, we are to understand, that this was obtain'd in the Kings Nonage, though not perhaps in times absolutely factious, for I don't read but that things were carried then calmly and quietly enough. But when the King came to full Age, then we may observe that he or his bosome Favourites, were not well pleased with this or other Grants, that confined the Regal Power within stricter Boundaries, than their own desires permitted them to like, and therefore there was striving amain to remove the ancient Landmarks, and the Court effected it at last for a short space, but with so ill an event, that the issue proved as fatal to the King himself, as the counterplottings had been destructive to many others before. People hereupon may say what they think fit, and pass their Verdicts as they please: But can any blame that mans Will and Desire, to disintangle himself from Fetters and Chains, who thinks himself born free, and so would fain live according to his own pleasure and good liking? 'Tis his Judgment rather, that is to be questioned, when it suggests to him, that he may command, and ought to be obeyed, in such things where no obedience was before due, by nature, or consent; and the goodness of his Intellectuals are liable to be doubted of, when they make him to fancy he may be absolute, where known Laws and long continued Custom hath authoriz'd the contrary.

Such seems to have been *Englands* Case of old, where the Subjects have oft put on Arms to prevent encroachments upon their dearly belov'd, and many times dearly bought, Liberties. And such the Nations State under this King, he being come

to his full Age, when several of the Barons, headed by the Duke of *Glocester* his Uncle, thought it their main interest and concern, to speak high and look big, with Armour on their backs and Swords by their sides, though it subjected them to much obloquy and displeasure at Court, and brought themselves and all theirs into much hazard and danger. But this it seems they little thought of, or as little valued : That the Court highly resented the actings of such, as indeavoured in Parliament time to bring some of the Prime Favourites to Judgment for Crimes laid to their Charge, is evident, in that they had laid a Plot to invite the Principal Lords to a Supper in *London*, and there murder them, as such who crossed the King's cour-  
ses: But the present Lord Mayor utterly refused to do it, though mov'd thereto (saith my Author) by the King himself, and thereupon this design miscarried. But then other Rodds were laid in Lavender, and contrivances secretly carried on, to intrap and suppress the Country Lords. The King calls all the High Sheriffs of the Counties before him, and demands, what strength they could make for him against the Lords, if there should be occasion? But they answered, that the Common People did so favour the Lords, as believing them to be loyal and true to the King, that it was not in their power to raise any great Force against them. Then they were commanded to take care, that no Knight nor Burgess should afterwards be chosen to any Parliament, but those whom the King and Council should name; whereto they replied, It was an hard matter, in those times of Jealousy and Suspicion, to deprive the People of their ancient Liberties in choosing their representatives. Then were the Judges consulted, (Men,

as my Author writes, learned chiefly in one point, that is, without considering Truth or Falshood, to please those in high places ) who gave several extraordinary opinions in favour of the Prerogative upon some Queries propounded to them, by one of which, viz. Whether the King might not at his pleasure dissolve the Parliament, and command the Lords and Commons to depart, we may guess what Exceptions and Resentments were taken against the Commons Request, in the Second of this King before mentioned, that the Parliament should not be dismiss'd before a reasonable Answer was given to all their Petitions.

After this was my Lord Mayor of *London* required to give an account, how many able men he could raise in the City ? who answered, that he thought they could make fifty thousand men at an hours warning : But when he went about it in good earnest, the Citizens cried out, they would never fight against the Kings Friends, and the Defenders of the Realm. Then were there endeavours privately to apprehend the opposing Lords singly by themselves, but this design was disappointed, and the Lords were quickly up in Arms to defend themselves. When these devices would not hold water, by the interposition of Mediators it was ordered, that the Lords should come to *Westminster* to the King upon a day appointed them, some Persons of Quality and Credit taking Oaths on the Kings part, that no fraud or deceit should be used, whereupon the Lords prepared themselves to come up according to agreement, but soon stop'd their Journey, upon notice given them of an Ambuscment laid for them in the *Mews*, which made the King ready almost to tax them of breach of Covenant, till he was told the reason, viz. the Ambuscment

laid for them, and then to clear himself ( as *Stow* relates it ) sware he knew of no such thing. He might possibly be as innocent as the Child unborn, as to any particular knowledge of this matter, but certainly his Courtiers were much to blame, and very bold, thus to act in direct opposition to the former Agreement; for that there was such a treacherous piece of Service intended, the *Annalist* assures us, but that any of the prime Engineers and designing Actors were punished, for acting thus without the Kings more especial Warrant, Knowledge, or Commission, I do not find.

When these tricks would not do, then fair words and promises were come in fashion again, to sooth up the angry Lords, who at last were come to *Westminster* with a sufficient Guard of Attendants, and in the upshot the speedy calling of a Parliament was concluded on, where the Accusers and Accused might meet face to face. But the favourite Lords durst not attend the consequence of such a Meeting, and therefore the Duke of *Ireland*, and the rest of the Faction, left the Court to be out of the way, and an Army was after raised to conduct the Duke up to Court, with which he hastened as fast as he could towards *London*, but was miserably overthrown at *Radcot Bridge* in *Oxfordshire* by the contesting Lords, and so ended all his glory, and a few years after his life. Upon this defeat the Lords thought they had matter enough to justify their Arms; with forty thousand men up come they to *London* and were there received, the King then keeping his Christmas in the *Tower*, to whom they shew the Letter he had sent to the aforesaid Duke to raise an Army for their destruction, and the Letters the French King had written to him to come into *France*, there to do acts to his own dis-

honour

honour and the Kingdoms. These things we may well conclude bred a great deal of ill blood between the King and his Lords, and that their Pulses beat extraordinary high is plain from the peremptory message they sent the King, when they understood his mind was alter'd as to keeping his promise before made to them, That if he came not according to his word, they would chuse another King, who should hearken to the faithful Counsel of his Lords. This, 'tis easie to be thought, toucht the King to the quick, but being not then strong enough to oppose, he esteem'd it his safest and securest course to condescend to the Lords desires, and order the calling of a Parliament. A Parliament comes and then it wrought wonders.

In *Stow* we meet with a Story, coincident with these times, concerning the Londoners, how that they understanding, that the French King had got together a great Navy, assembled an Army, and set his purpose firmly to come into *England*, trembling like Leverets, fearful as Mice they sought starting holes to hide themselves in, even as if the City had been ready to be taken, and they, that in times past, brag'd they would blow all the French men out of *England*, hearing a vain Rumour of the Enemies coming, ran to the Walls, brake down the houses adjoyning, destroyed and laid them flat, and did all things in great fear, not one Frenchman having then set foot on Shipboard. But there's not one word of the Author, whence this was extracted, which we commonly find in the Margin in other Relations. What ground now there was for this pannick fear, I cannot devise, or rather reason, for the relating of such a heedless story, looking more like a conjectural report, than an historical relation, as if the Writer himself had



been frenchified, or imposed upon by some French Translator. who was desirous to render his Country men terrible to the English by the Pen of an English Historian. since they have been so ill able to do it by their own Swords. For that the English neither overmuch lov'd nor fear'd the French Nation, is evident from the Histories of ancient times, and the occurrences of later days and from the Commons Address to the Purbeck Alarm. How then the Londoners should come to be afraid of them so all of a sudden is a Riddle to me. 'Tis certain enough of late years, that, when they were burnt out of house and home, and had little more perhaps to lose besides their lives, upon an Alarm of the French coming and Papists rising, they were like enraged Bears, robb'd of their young Ones, much more ready to fall on than the others to set upon them, so far were they from standing in fear of the whole power of France, though it should have been united with all their Popish Friends, Favourers, and Pensioners in *England*. And that they had little or no grounds for such fear in those elderly times, the long train of Victories gain'd heretofore in France puts us out of doubt. Besides methinks the Instances in this Story, which the Writer sets down as Arguments of fear, are rather proofs of a provident care and foresight. For what else can the running to the Walls, and breaking down the Houses adjoining import, but a design and resolution to stand upon their own Guard, which is the property of Courage not of Cowardise. That there were intentions, suitable to men of valour, of standing up vigorously in their own defence against the foreign Enemy, may be prov'd out of the same Author, from the great numbers of armed men by the Nobles brought to the Parlia-

ment

ment then at *London*, and the Lord Chancellors calling men of Arms, out of almost every part of the Realm, to the Marches about *London*, to beat back the Frenchmen with their King, had they come. Let this therefore serve to disprove the Annalists suggestions out of his own mouth, and shew the Nobles care for the Cities safeguard, in drawing such forces thitherward, and their hopes of considerable assistance from the City to help them in the Common cause of self-preservation.

But suppose, without granting it, that there were some sparks of fear amongst them, 'tis questionable, whether they did not spring from the mistrust of their principal Magistrates, not out of any diffidence and distrust of their own strength, or dread of a Foreign Enemies power and puissance. For to me 'tis an Argument that the Major of *London* this year look'd Courtward, since that we read of an endeavour to ingage him in such an horrid design, as hath been before spoken of, to destroy the principals of the opposite party at a private Supper in *London*. Certainly the King would not have utter'd a syllable of an intreague of this importance to so powerful a Magistrate; as my Author affirms he did, had there not been hopes of prevailing on him in Reverence at least to the Kings word and desire: But upon the Tryal it seems he prov'd himself an honest man in that point; (whatever his principles and inclinations otherwise were) than his Predecessor, whom we read of as deeply concern'd in that Plot. Much about this time 'tis likewise that a Modern writer tells us, that the *Londoners* incur'd much obloquy, for that having before been Pardoned by the King of some Crimes laid to their charge

charge, (but what nor when committed I find not by him mentioned ) they were ready to comply with his desires, and a Jury of them being Impannell'd, indicted some Lords of many Crimes objected against them. But this also is to be imputed to the Magistrates influence and power in calling out men fit for the purpose, and not to the whole body of the Citizens. For we read just after, that when the Mayor thought to have rais'd them against the contesting Lords, they resolutely refus'd, and absolutely rejected the Motion as is before related. So that 'twas not having the Mayor at their Beck, nor the Power, they thought, they had among the high Sheriffs of the Counties to procure such men return'd up to serve in Parliament, as were nominated by the King and his Council, that could shelter the guilty favourites at Court from the censure of that *August* Assembly, well known afterwards by the name of the Parliament that wrought wonders.

For on the very first day thereof all the Judges, but one, were Arrested as they sat in their places, question'd for their extrajudicial opinions and Arbitrary actings, and severely punish'd by Banishment and Confiscation of their Estates: The Lord Chief Justice *Tresilian* lost his Life at *Tyburn*, and the rest, my Author says, had all dyed, had it not been for the Queens intercession. As the Judges were thus brought under the Lash of those Laws, which before they had so much abus'd to humour Arbitrary mens designs, the better thereby to secure to themselves their own Stations and Offices of Judicature, so the Patrons themselves, and reputed promoters of these Arbitrary and illegal Actings, were reduc't into the same Predicament, Several of the chief were impeach'd of no less

than High Treason in open Parliament, the absent  
for ever banish'd, and many of them in hold ei-  
ther Hang'd, or Beheaded, upon *Tower-hil*, or at  
*Tyburn*, notwithstanding they had been ere while  
Men of Name, Power and Authority, and in great  
favour at Court but just before. So uncertain is  
the State of Mortality, and so slippery is walking  
in *high places*.

But amongst all those, who fell under the stroak  
of an angry Deity, and so shamefully lost their  
lives by the hands of Justice, most memorable is the  
fate, that befel Sir *Nicholas Brember* Grocer, late  
Lord Mayor of *London*, who, for many oppres-  
sions, and seditions by him caus'd in the City, was  
Beheaded (as *Stow* informs us) the Morrow af-  
ter the Execution of the Lord Chief Justice *Tresli-*  
*lian*, and, which is more remarkable, with the same  
Ax, he had before prepared for others of his fel-  
low Citizens. So just is Providence to suffer the  
wicked to be insnared by the devices of their own  
hearts, and to fall headlong into the Pit they had  
dig'd for others. *Stow* tells us the King had oft-  
times made him Mayor of *London* against the mind  
of the Citizens. But in *Fabian* (who methinks,  
being once Sheriff of this Honourable City, should  
know best what had been formerly Transacted in  
that City, of whose good order, Policy, and  
Government he hath expressly Treated in his Chro-  
nicle) I don't find but that he was Elected and  
Chosen. Possibly there might be an order made at  
Court, Present the King, and sent into the City  
to further and promote his Election, which by the  
one might be esteem'd an imposing him on the City,  
while the other only took notice of the meeting of  
the Citizens in order to an Election, without re-  
lating how the matter was carried, or whether he  
came

came in fairly by a Majority, or else by a strong hand, through the working of Court Favourites, who influencing the Judges might make that pass for Law, which was contrary thereto, let the difference of voices be never so great on the other side. So have I heard of a place, where it was carried by thirteen against twenty one, and when the business came to be scan'd over anew, it was adjudg'd by vote against the Majority: But this was rather the effect of Greatness and Power, overruling, than the result of Equity and Justice dividing to every one his right.

That this Man, when Mayor, met with great opposition from the most eminent of the Citizens, I presume concludable from his Resentments, and what is in plain words delivered of him by the Annalist, how that, whilst he was in the full Authority of his Mayoralty, he caus'd a Common pair of Stocks in every Ward, and a Common Ax to be made, to behead all such, as should be against him, and had Indited eight thousand and more of the best and greatest of the City, so resolv'd was he to carry on the design right or wrong to please his Masters and Abettors. What kind of principled Man he was we may easily guess, as from the aforementioned passages, so from the Historians Relations before hinted of him, as being deeply concern'd in the Plot, before intimated, to assassinate the contesting Lords, and also afterwards one of the Chief Men, that had a hand in laying the Ambuscade, spoken of above, unwilling the King, (as he swore) to intrap them, who, upon promise of safe conduct, confirm'd by the Oaths of some persons of Quality, were coming up to *Westminster* to the King, which he and Sir *Thomas Trivet* privately sent away

away to *London* upon the discovery thereof. That he was a suitable Tool to carry on great mens intreagues, or at least thought fit enough to be made a Property to work upon, why may we not conclude, in that we find him elected, at the latter part of the last Kings Reign, and admitted at the Tower of *London* into the Mayoralty, when the proud haughty Duke of *Lancaster* had got the other Mayor put out of his Office, as not quick enough it seems to run along with that aspiring Dukes designs, who aimed at that time to have put by his Nephew from the Throne, and have intruded thereunto himself, contrary to right, reason and justice, and the publick interest of the Nation? Who knows likewise by whose influence, and for what intents, he was kept in the Office of Mayor for three years together, in the seventh, eighth, and ninth of this King? What a vast difference was there, as to Principles and Practices, between this man and the fam'd *John Philpot*, his fellow Sheriff in the forty sixth of the precedent King? The one prov'd as great a Patriot to his Country before, in, and after his Mayoralty, as the other shew'd himself an ambitious Courtier under a Gold Chain in the City. But what great wonder is this, to see men once joyn Partners in an Office, vastly differing each from other in their Judgments and Actions, when raised to places of higher Dignity and Powerment? I don't think but 'tis easie enough to find an instance at present, if there were any great occasion or necessity thereof.

'Tis said of this *Sir Nicholas Brembar*, that if he had liv'd, he had been created Duke of *Troy*, or of *London* by the name of *Troy*. What a pity 'twas that he had not had a Patent, ready sign'd and seal'd lying by him, to have shrowded himself and all his old

old crimes, under this new Dignity upon Occasion? But this I Fancy would never have past upon that Parliament, either Lords or Commons, to have sheltred him from the Law of the Land, though he had become really, in act, as well as desire and design, a Peer of the Realm. However this intention of his, if truly related, sufficiently shews us his Ambition to become a Titulado, unless we shall venture upon a conjecture, that some of the Courtiers sham'd upon him, with the empty promise of this titulary honour, when they wheaded him out of the directions they had before sent him, for the better management of their designs, which they were unwilling to let remain in his hands, (after they had made as much use of his Place and Power, as opportunity would permit) that they might not be produc'd as Evidences against them in a day of Tryal, which they, probably fear'd, might one time or other come upon them, and did it seems in this Parliament with a Vengeance. For I will take the boldness to conclude, that it was some other more skilful hand, hid behind the Curtain, that order'd the Scenes, and manag'd the Machines, though he was made the publick stalking horse, to deceive the vulgar Herd, the Skreen, to shelter other mens heads from the violence of popular fury, the open Actor in the face of the world, the common Engine, to set the Wheels of more politick mens contrivances a going, though against Water, Wind, and Tide: It being very unbecoming the Apes subtilty to put her own foot into the fire, when she may make use of the Cats. But if the Worshipful Sir Nicholas suffer'd himself thus impolitickly to be trapann'd, whom had he to blame but himself, if he were made at last

to pay so dear for his own folly and imprudence? And that such is the ominous fate of less wary men, who venture upon Actions, not warranted by Law, to serve a present turn, and humour their own ambitious desires, or other mens greatness, is evidently demonstrable, as in general from History and Experience, so more particularly from an instance in *Spain*, under one of the *Philips*, of a certain Officer of that Kings, who having by the Kings Order done an Act, for which he was afterwards questioned and thrown into Prison, and upon fair words and promises parted with the Kings Letter, which he could have produc'd for his Warrant, was soon after left in the lurch, and suffer'd to fall a Sacrifice to his own imprudent Credulity, and the Law of the Land. Whether I have been exact, as to all circumstances of the story, I shall not positively affirm, as not being fully sure, but my Memory may deceive me in twelve or thirteen years space, and being uncertain in what Book to look for it now, or where I read it at first, unless in some of the famous *Fullers* works, perhaps in his holy or prophane State; but as to the substance and truth hereof, I dare aver it from Historical Relation, and leave the Application to more Philosophical Logicians, that I may press further forwards towards the mark, the end, intention and scope of this my present undertaking, viz. To shew the respect and esteem several of the Nobles in particular had for this honourable City, and their solicitous care for her welfare under this King *Richard*.

How that, before the Parliament, that wrought wonders was ended, particular care was taken expressly to have the Citizens of *London* included in a general Pardon, ( to prevent doubtless new



exactions upon old pretences ) hath been before related amongst the Commons requests as a sign of their good will, and therefore now to be wav'd, though it would not be impertinent in this Point to shew the Lords affection, if that be a truth, which is delivered by a modern Writer, that in our Ancestors time, most of the Members of the house of Commons thought it an honour to retain to some great Lord, and to wear his blew Coat, to make up his train, and wait upon him from his own house to the Lords, and make a Lane for him to enter thereto; which argues how much the Lords did, or might, over-rule them, in their frequent Petitions on the City's behalf. But I shall pass over the consequence of this Conclusion, \*as an Argument depending on the Readers Will and Choice, which he may grant or deny at pleasure, and produce an instance or two less dubitable, and not left so much at discretion.

How hard a matter it hath generally prov'd, to bring Offenders, if great in Power, Place and Authority, to Justice, is plain from History and Experience: As evident likewise is it, that the Offences, to such imputed, have been Exactions, Extortions, oppressions, corrupt Abuses of the Law, Illegal Principles, Arbitrary Designs, Unjust Actions, and the like National Grievances ( ordinarily comprehended under the name of ill Government ) dayly heapt up under weak or negligent Princes by the exorbitant Power of headstrong Favourites, who, through the excess of their Sovereign's kindness, the easiness of his Nature, the mildness of his Disposition, weakness of his Judgment, or fondness of his Affection, ( grounded mostly on humour and fancy )

fancy) having grasp'd all publick affairs in, Church and State into their own hands, too too oft make no better use thereof, than to Hector over those, who were before their Superiours, suppress their Equals, oppress their Inferiours, and inslave the poor Commons, the easier thereby to raise themselves and their own Families upon other mens ruins. When these things happen, and the reins of Government fall into such men's hands, the rich are sure to be the greatest sufferers, and such, as have most of this Worlds goods, are certain to be most watch'd and carpt at, and all opportunities greedily laid hold on to bring them under the Lash, that they may be squeez'd like Sponges, and large sums exacted of them to buy out their Pardons, and procure forgiveness; till another occasion offer it self to make them be thought Offenders anew: of this *London* sufferings in the fifteenth of this King are attesting proofs.

For the *Londoners* having refus'd to lend the King mony, as was requested, and some abuses being offer'd to the Merchant Stranger, that professed to lay it down, *Stow* tells us the King was marvellously inrag'd hereat, and, calling a Council of his Nobles at *Stamford*, causes the Mayor, Sheriffs, and best of the Citizens to be Arrested, and afterwards (the Mayor and Sheriffs being depos'd) sends them to several Prisons there to be kept, till he and his Council had consider'd and decreed, what should be done with them; and it was also further determined, that from thenceforth the *Londoners* should not chose, nor have any Mayor, but that the King should appoint one of his Knights to be Ruler of the City; their Privi-

S

ledges

ledges were revok'd, their Liberties disannull'd, and their Laws abrogated. Neither was this all; The Terms likewise, and the Courts of Kings Bench, Common-pleas, Chancery, &c. Were remov'd from *London* to *York*, such was the displeasure conceiv'd against them by the King, or the ill Offices done them by some busie Courtiers about him. For *Fabian* gives us another account of this affair, and says the occasion arose from a contest, between the Citizens and the Bishop of *Salisburies* Servants, about one of their fellow Servants ( who had taken a Loaf out of a Bakers basket, openly in the streets, and then broke his head with his Dagger for attempting to regain it ) which grew so high, the Citizens striving to have the offender seiz'd on and Committed to Ward, and the Bishops Servants rescuing him, and shutting up their Gates, that the Mayor, Aldermen, and Sheriffs had much ado, by their perswasion, presence, and Authority, to stop further outrages, and contain the multitude within bounds, though at last they effected it, and dismiss'd the people home in peace and quietness: But the angry Bishop so highly resented this business, notwithstanding the fault sprung Originally out of his own House, that he and the Arch-Bishop of *York* incens'd the King all they could against the *Londoners*, even so far, that one expressly affirms, he was once resolv'd to have utterly ruin'd and destroy'd the whole City. A very sharp punishment certainly for such an offence, and for a City, publickly endow'd with such transcendent Grants and Priviledges, as not to be lyable to a just legal seizure of her Liberties and Franchises, unless for Treason or Rebellion done by the whole City, as

hath

hath been before observ'd in the first of *Edward* the third, and the seventh of this present King. Now how Treason or Rebellion could be justly charg'd upon the whole City, at this time, and in these instances, which soever of them we give credit to, I cannot well conceive. The most methinks that could be made of it, in the worst construction, could amount no further than a Riot, notwithstanding the great and hainous matters laid unto the Mayors charge, though not a syllable prov'd that I read of, as that he no otherwise Rul'd the City, but suffered the Citizens to make such assaults upon the Kings head Officers, to the Kings great dishonour, and hazard of the Kings Treasure then in his Custody. The Statute of the twenty fifth of *Edward* the third, which makes it Treason to slay the Treasurer, must surely have been very far stretched, to have brought the whole City within the compass thereof, because some of the meaner Citizens assaulted the Treasurers House, (upon an injustice first done by one, and an affront afterwards offered by others of his own servants, in refusing to deliver the Offender, or suffer the Constable to enter to seize him) he himself being as many Miles distant at that time, as *Windsor* is from *London*, and so not capable of receiving then the least injury in his own person, much less to be kill'd out-right, without which no Treason lies in the Case upon this Act: But if the King and Council would have it so, or at least so, as if it were so; contrary to an establish'd Law, and his own Grand-Fathers grant, who would, who would, who durst contradict? Here was no Parliament then Sitting, that I read of, nor House of Commons in Being; nor Lords e-

nough present, their Friends, to stave off the first brunt, though at length we hear of a Reconciliation depending before a Parliament was call'd, and that too by the mediation of powerful Friends, some of them no less than the Principal Lords, besides the Queen her self.

*Baker* and *Stow* name the Duke of Gloucester the Kings Uncle, who was ever reputed by the Commons a great Friend and Patriot to his Country, and his untimely end afterwards severely reveng'd on the Actors and Contrivers thereof, and made the occasional cause of enraging the People against the King himself, who, within few years after the aforesaid Dukes violent Death, was publickly dethron'd by such, as, under the popular pretence of reforming ill Government, aim'd at their own Advancement to the chiefest Honours, Preferments and Dignities in Church and State. Through this Noble Peer's Suit and Mediation, among others, we hear the King was somewhat pacified, and by little and little abated the rigour of his purpose, calling to mind the divers honours, and great gifts he had received of the *Londoners*, ( as certainly the securing his right to the Crown against the ambitious pretensions of his aspiring Uncle, and the defending his Life and Person from the furious Outrages of his mutinous Commons, were no mean pieces of Service done him by them ) whereupon he determined to deal more mildly with them, and gives them hopes of Grace and Pardon.

*Fabian* tells us of a Reverend Bishop, a Spiritual Lord, that joyn'd with the Queen to procure the Kings favour for them, and got them

their Liberties restor'd them again, That the Queen did successfully interceed in their behalf; we may perhaps, not without some shew of reason, conclude from the many great, rich and costly Presents made her by the Citizens, at the Kings publick entrance into the City, about the latter end of *August* in the same Summer. Nay, one Writer goes so far as to acquaint us, that even the Duke of *Lancaster*, *John of Gaunt*, appeared likewise in their favour, an Intercessor unto the King. Whether out of respect to them, or secret dislike of his Nephews proceedings, forgetfulness of *Londons* past opposition, or his desire at last to become Popular, and to ingratiate himself with the Citizens, whose power he had before try'd to his loss, I dare not venture to resolve, upon such unsure grounds as my own bare surmizes. But this I presume may easily be granted me, that he was then grown ancient, and the burning fires of his Ambition were much abated, if not altogether quenched, through former disappointments, length of time, and the visible increase of years, old age growing fast upon him. So that, the first heats being over, he might probably be inclin'd to try his fortune in foreign Countries, and content himself with the titular honour of a King abroad, now that he had long felt the smart of a frustrated expectation at home.

*London* having then such powerful Friends, of name and note, in the time of her adversity particularly express in History, how many more may we presume she had, not expressly mention'd, of the same, or somewhat inferior rank and quality, who, either out of their own affection and parti-

cular respect, or through the prevalency of these great Examples, engag'd themselves in the Cities interest, and became Reconcilers and Repairers of her late Breaches? But if the Readers candour will not yield me this, not irrational, supposition, these doubtless in themselves are enough to make out the truth of my assertion, and free me from the undesirable imputation of a vain pretender, when I offer'd to shew the esteem the Lords, singly consider'd in themselves, had for this great and honourable City. The aforementioned passages shew their good will, yet, all this notwithstanding somewhat else was expected at Court, which the Cities Enemies mainly drove at, and seem resolv'd by one means or other to compass and bring about. The City was Rich in Priviledges, Rich in Glory, Rich in Coyn, besides the Spirit and Courage of her Citizens; all which conjoyn'd made her powerful at home and abroad, fam'd in Foreign Countries for Trade and Commerce, and highly honour'd within the Circle of the Brittish-Isle, through which she was known IJanet-like to dart her over-ruling influences. Among Arbitrary Designers these have been generally look't upon as Malign, and therefore no wonder if at Court ill-affected. Their Liberties and Priviledges are thought too great, let's them have 'em lessened now time serves; And so they were. For the *Londoners* being Commanded to come to *Windsor*, there to shew them, and produce their Charters, both old and new, some of them are ratified, some condemn'd, some restor'd, others detain'd. Their Glory likewise is to be made to suffer, if possible, a diminution in the eyes of the world, and therefore almost all the Lords are ga-

ther'd

ther'd together at *Windsor*, against their coming thither, and also a great Army, that the people might think them terrified thereby, and frighted into submission, and so have the less esteem for them hereafter, as such as may easily be accus'd of offences, and as easily be made to undergo grievous penalties for them, whoever was originally in fault. These Preparations must needs occasion considerable charges, but the *Londoners* must pay the shot, if they are Covetous of peace and quietness: And so they did at last, to their no small expences.

'Twas not the Honourable Cavalcade of principal Citizens sent out in one Livery, to meet and Conduct the King and Court through the City; 'Twas not the Triumphant Reception of him in his passage, through a lane of Livery-men lowly ecchoing forth his Name, the running of *Cheapside* Conduit with more than one sort of Wine, the adorning the Windows and Walls of the Streets with Tapistry, Cloth of Gold, Silver and Silk, nor other gawdy shows, to entertain him; 'Twas not the Rich and Chargeable Presents made to him and his Queen, as they pass'd along, or afterwards the next day, (the Costly Crowns and Tables of Gold, Horses with their Noble Trappings, Plate of Gold and Silver, Cloth of Gold, Silk, Velvets, Buttons, and Ewers of Gold, Gold in Coyn, Precious Stones, and Jewels so Rich, excellent and Beautiful, that the value and price was inestimable) that could fully appease the Angry King, or rather satisfy the ravenous Courtiers Covetousness, until they had laid down also Ten thousand pounds in ready money; And this did the feat for that time. And



but for that time as far as I can find. For new Lords new Laws: New Favourites produce new Changes, and old ones being cast out of Doors, they are for finding out new Crimes, Pretences and Devices, to empty other mens Purses and enrich themselves, under the common notion of levying Fines and Amercements for the King.

King *Richard* had received Royal Gifts, and Noble Presents, of his truly Royal Chamber of *London* in the sixteenth year of his Reign: Yet within less than half a dozen years space, this was forgotten and quite out of memory, or else so well remembred, as to make some heartily desirous of more such Boons, as hoping that some of *Danae's* showers might descend also into their own laps. These being the true Chymical Drops to restore, enliven, and invigorate the tir'd spirits of such hunger-starv'd Expectants. And where, throughout the whole British World, are they to be had in greater plenty than at *London*? And by the sequel of the story, we may believe this was an approved Recipe in those days. For some Informations had been given in against the Londoners, which incens'd the King to such a degree, that the Commonalty, *Fabian* tells us, was indicted with other Sheriffs, and therefore consequently their own likewise, which might have brought great damage afresh to them, but that Providence then rais'd them up two Potent Friends and Favourers among the Spiritual Lords, by whose advice they made an humble supplication to the King, and so by their aid and assistance, with help of other Lovers of the City, the Kings anger was much appeas'd; But yet nevertheless Blank Charters were brought into the City, and many of the most substantial men thereof

thereof forc't to seal them, highly to their disadvantage, which was likewise soon after put in practice in many other Counties. . So fatal was the Citizens Example to the rest of the Land; and so little gain'd they themselves in these Conjunctions by their Submissions, Resignations, and other like compliances to the Court, besides expence, charge, and much trouble, and the continual fears of greater molestations for the future.

But when was this and how was it brought about? If we trace the Scrids of times and affairs a little backwards, by the unerring Clue of Authentick History, we shall find these transactions to bear date some years after the end of the Parliament, that wrought wonders, when possibly 'twas almost forgot, and it's Statutes, by some Mens Artifices, slighted through disuse and inexecution. Neither were indeed these latter proceedings attempted, till after that, by several tricks and devices (as naming Sheriffs fit to serve turns, and imposing such Representatives on the Borough Towns, as would be byass'd to betray their Country, besides a violent seizure of the Country Lords likely to oppose) the Court had got a Parliament to their minds, that would do their own business, not the Nations, and prefer the private gain of some few, before the publick benefit of the whole Commonwealth.

What sort of Parliament this was, and how fairly things were carried, we may inform our selves out of *Stow's Annals*, where we find it upon Record, in the twenty first year of this King, how that all of a suddain, in the midst of a great calm and outward serenity, the King caus'd the principals of the party, thought most opposite to Court designs, to be

be seiz'd on and imprison'd, and among the rest his own Uncle, as Chief, (so unsecure is Kindred and Alliance among Kings and Princes,) tells the Commons by Proclamation that their apprehension was founded on new Transgressions not old Crimes, (though these afterwards were the great offences laid to their charge) procures their Indictment at *Nottingham*, suborns several Nobles to impeach them in the next Parliament, Assembles many Malefactors of the County of *Chester* in the nature of a Guard, and then summons the Parliament: Thither came the Nobles with an Armed Retinue, for fear of the King, such Knights are chosen Prolocutors, as are described to be void of all manner of goodness, as in whom nought was to be found, but a natural Covetousness, unsatiable Ambition, Intollerable Pride, and Hatred of the truth, and the Clergy, upon pain of losing their Temporalties, injoynd to chose them a Common Proctor, who thereupon appointed Sir *Henry Percy*, Steward of the Kings Household, to assent in their Names to all things done in the Parliament. How then things were likely to be ordered in the two Houses, 'tis no hard matter for us to guess, especially when we remember, that the Annalist tells us, the Parliament House was compass'd about with four thousand of the Kings Archers, who seem to have been ready prepar'd on all occasions for an Onset, and once more particularly, mistaking the noise, usually made at the Parliament's Men coming out of the House, for a Tumultuous Broil and Contention, with their Bows bent, Arrows fitted, and drawing, they were upon the point of shooting, to the terrour of all present, till the Kings coming rectified their mistake and pacified them.

To

To tell of recalling of Pardons, disannulling of Charters, making void of Commissions, revoking former Judgments, impeaching, arraigning, condemning, and actually punishing the opposite Party, some with loss of Estates, Lives and all, others with forfeitures of all worldly Goods and perpetual irrevocable imprisonment, I esteem a needless labour. Suffice it therefore to remark, how solicitous the Court was, at this juncture, to render their own Party as Saints, and the others as most guilty Criminals, to take off the contesting Lords, as disloyal Traytors, and restore in the Eye of the Law the Reputation of Courtiers formerly condemn'd, in the eleventh year of this King, as if they had been the honestest and loyallest Subjects in the Nation, and undo, as much as in them lay, whatever was then done in the Parliament that wrought wonders, notwithstanding that in many things they imitated that Assembly, when they thought it for their peculiar advantage, as in Lords Appellants, Oaths to make all the Judgments, Ordinances and Statutes unrepealable, and Excommunication of the Breakers or Impugners of them, but in others far out did it, as in revoking all Pardons pleaded by the opposite Lords, (under the notion of being unlawfully made, or so by the King granted unto them as not to be against himself) and excusing those equally guilty of the same actions, because look'd on at that time as useful Instruments in carrying on the Court Intreagues, viz. suppressing the principal Assertors of Liberty and Property, in passing a general Pardon with the Exception of fifty Persons not express'd by name, (whereby any one at pleasure might be made liable to censure, as one of the Persons excepted, if thought a Fa-  
vourer

vourer of the contrary side ) and conferring the whole Power of the Parliament upon certain Lords and Commons, fully to answer all Bills, and wholly to determine all other matters mov'd in Parliament, and not determined, with all their Dependents (as mischievous a President as *Sylla's* Proscription, though 'tis hoped not as practicable) besides the prejudging and confining of Parliament Debates by the Judges Opinions, That when Articles are propounded by the King to be handled in Parliament, if other Articles be handled before those be first determined, that it is Treason in them that do it.

Such being the Acts of this Assembly, and the consequences of the Courts present success (in taking off the Heads of the other Party, who durst at every turn contest therewith in behalf of those freeborn English Twins Liberty and Property ) under which the Nation with silent murmurs languished and lamented, when they so soon, after the end of this Parliament at *Shrewsbury*, and the Kings Progress into the West, saw no less than seventeen Counties in East England indicted by the Kings command, and as a grievous offence laid to their charge, that they had been against him with the Duke of *Glocester*, Earls of *Arundel* and *Warwick* (the late Principals amongst the contesting Lords, but now secur'd fast enough, the two first under the undissolvable Bonds of Death, the other, under the Chains of a perpetual Imprisonment in the *Isle of Man* ) and several honourable Persons sent to induce the Lords, Spiritual and Temporal, to make a Submission by Writing, seal'd with their own Hands, acknowledging themselves Traytors to the King, though they never offended him in Word or Deed,

Deed: Besides the compelling all the Religious Gentlemen, and Commons, to set their Seals to Blank-Charters, that they might be oppress'd severally, or all at once, at pleasure, some being made to pay a thousand Marks, some a thousand Pounds: And an Order issued out, through every Shire in *England*, that all Gentlemen and Men of Substance should be sworn firmly to maintain, according to their power, all the Statutes, Articles, and Constitutions ordained in the last Parliament. We may easily conclude the Court, thought the Citizens of *London* were not over much in love with these enslaving Statutes, unaccustomed Oaths, insnaring Blanks, and forc'd Submissions, and suspected them ready enough, upon occasion, to oppose, and withstand these manifest encroachments of Antinomian Prerogative upon the Liberty of the Subject, and strive to strike off these Fetters, and Shackles of Slavery upon the next opportunity, before they were thorowly rivetted by Time and Prescription, and therefore esteemed it their wisest Course to begin with them first, by the usual Method of Indictments, while they had the Reins of Government in their own hands, and so consequently power enough to manage the Law, as they themselves pleased, to wind and turn it about to their interests, and bend it to their own irregular Desires and Designs, since that they lik'd not to have them confin'd within the limits and bounds thereof.

This manner of acting however, by the by appears to me the most beaten Path to Destruction, and the high way to the Actors unavoidable Ruin, and I think I have reason, History and Experience all on my side. This the City seems well to have understood, and therefore with Prudence chose rather

ther to yield to the times for a season, than presently to strive against the running stream, and immediately to fall a rowing against high wind and Tide; but as soon as ever the flowing waters began to Ebb, and the tide was a turning, the City Barge struck in with the returning waves, and assisted to steer the Ship of the Common-wealth to a quite different Haven from that, whither the Court was furiously driving her before. And then for the most favourable of the Citizens to shew themselves but faint Regardless friends, was far less beneficial to the desolate forsaken King, than for others of them to appear earnest Enemies in so critical a Juncture; was disadvantageous to this unfortunate Prince, as he may well be term'd, either for having none but ill Councillors and faithless Trencher-friends about him, and hearkning so much to their pernicious and destructive advice, or else for the defect of his Judgment in not discerning between their private self ends, and his own special and particular interest, *viz.* Impartiality in doing Justice to all States and Persons, from the highest to the lowest, squaring all his own actions by the known Rules of the Law of the Land, to the pleasing of his people, not by the compass of other mens unstable fancies and anomalous Plat-forms, to the loss of his Subjects love and affection, and the unhappy fate, that attended him upon this his ill conduct, when he was violently thrown out of the Chair of State into a profound Abyss of miseries and infelicities, and irrecoverably cast out of a Regal Throne into an unavoidable Prison, between which and his grave he had but few steps to make.

For we are to know that, as in the turning of fortunes wheel the spoke, that is got upermost,

pre-

presently begins to decline, and so runs downwards, till it comes to be the under-most of all, or like as *Sisyphus* stone forc'd up, ac'en almost to the very top of the Hill, presently tumbles down again to the bottom with a swiftness and violence not to be stop't, by the strength of art or nature, so this Prince, arriv'd in a manner to the heighth of his desires, by the Caprice of fortune, or rather by the over-ruling power of a superior Being, was suddenly, and unexpectedly, beyond Recovery hurl'd down, from the Grandeur of a Potent King, into the lowest Station among Men, the Confinement of a Prison, and that too occasion'd by the very same way and means, whereby he thought to have secur'd to himself a more fixt and settled enjoyment of his greatness, as comes now of course to be shewn in manner following.

After the suppression of the opposite Party, under the shadow of Law, and Justice, dissention happening between the two Dukes of *Norfolk* and *Hereford*, both then great at Court, to the mutual accusation of each other, the King greedily lays hold on the opportunity, and instead of permitting them, according to the Custom of those times, where clear proofs were wanting, to make good their accusations by the Sword in a single Combat, as had been also before appointed, unadvisedly banishes them both the Land, the first for ever, and the latter for a term of years, with this hard measure into the bargain, that they should not sue for a release of their Judgments on pain of Treason, whereby he made both his Enemies, and the latter so much the more dangerous, the nearer he stood Related to the Crown, and the more inveterate, in that the King had procur'd the Letters Pattents, before granted him, to sue by Attorney for Lands  
de-



descended to him, to be revok'd by Assent of Parliament, and declar'd to be against Law, and had afterwards, upon his Father *John of Gaunts* death, violently seisd on all his Estate, whereto *Hereford* was Heir. Then, amidst the murmurs of the People for misgovernment and ill guidance of the Realm, away goes the King for *Ireland* with a puissant Army (when he thought he had left all things secure in *England*, by the advantage he had made of the last Parliament, by engrossing whatever he pleased into his own hands, by the tricks found out to raise Money of the Subject by Blanks, &c. and the Subsidy he had gain'd in Parliament, during his Life, upon the continuance whereof without molestation he openly declar'd his general Pardon should stand and no otherwise) and managed his Arms therewith success enough, but ill news out of *England*, that the Duke of *Hereford* (by his Fathers death Duke of *Lancaster*) was landed in *England* under colour of claiming his Inheritance, and raised people as he went, alarm'd him, and bad advice afterwards, which detain'd him longer than his promise in *Ireland*, (so loath were his Counsellors to spare his company, under the shelter of whose Person and presence lay their greatest hopes of protection) quite ruin'd him. For coming over and finding the Army gone away, which the Earl of *Salisbury* had rais'd against his coming, and had newly voluntarily disbanded it self, upon the Kings tarrying too long behind the Earl in *Ireland*, his courage fail'd him, and he trussing more to flight than fighting, the treachery of his Principal Officers deceiv'd him, and he himself also, by soothing words and fair promises, was decoy'd into the Duke of *Lancaster's* hands, who soon secur'd him fast enough, without any intent to let him loose again in haste.

Now

Now the King is in hold, let us see how the Citizens behav'd themselves in this great Turn and Change of the Times. They had in this Kings Nor- age, in his Grandfathers dayes, appear'd the undaunted Assertors of his Right and Title; and in the beginning of his Reign contributed much to his Security and Settlement on the THRONE: But a new Generation being sprang up in Twenty Years space, and their old Services at last so ill requited, by new attempts on their Liberties, by Inditements and blank-Chartes, instead of standing up with their Lives and Fortunes in the Kings Defence and Vindication, they openly devoted themselves to anothers Service, and became the known Favourers of that Party, which assisted to Depose this unhappy Prince, and set up in His Room the Duke of *Lancaster*, under the Name and Title of *Henry the Fourth*. As is provable, both from Statute-Law (*viz.* the Act made in the First of this New King, to be seen in the Statute-Book, *Cap. 15. An. 1. H. 4.* Where we find expresse mention of the good and lawful behaviour of the *Mayor, Sheriffs, and Aldermen*, and all the Commonalty of the same City of *London* towards him) and *Stow's* general Chronicle of *England*, wherein we read, at the latter end of the Life and Reign of King *Richard the Second*, That after the Duke was come from *Coventry* to *St. Albans*, about five or six Miles before his coming to *London*, the Mayor, and the Companies in the Liveries, with great Noise of Trumpets, met the Duke, doing more Reverence to him, than to the King, Rejoycing that GOD had sent them such a Prince that had Conquer'd the Realm, *i. e.* the **Court-party**, within one Months space: Whereupon, when the Duke was come within two Miles of the City, he stopt his

T

Army,

Army, as if out of Reverence, and Acknowledgment, and in Submission thereto, and ask't Advice of the Commons thereof, what they would do with the *King*; who Answered, they would He should be led to *Westminster*; upon which, to them He was delivered, and they led him accordingly to *Westminster*, and from thence by Water to the Tower. Nay, some of the *Londoners* publickly shew'd themselves so much His Enemies, as to Assemble together with an intent to have met Him without the City, and there to have Slain him for his former Severities: But the *Mayor*, and *Rulers*, and best of the *Commonalty*, upon Information hereof, with some difficulty reclaim'd them therefrom. After the Citizens had thus receiv'd the *King* into their Custody, and in effect thereby made a publick Declaration of their Minds and Opinions, as to the great Change succeeding the Duke, we are told, entred *London* by the chief Gate, and Rode through *Cheapside* to *St. Pauls*, and there Lodg'd for some time; so secure was he of the Citys good Will and Affection to him, and afterward in *October* held a *Parliament* in *Westminster-Hall*, where the old *King's* Deposition, and the new *King's* Election were compleated.

I shall not itay to make a long Paraphrase upon the Cityes proceedings in this Affair, it being Matter of Fact, and undeniable, that the City consented hereto, from the aforesaid passages, which may be likewise thought very much to have influenc'd the Nation in their Elections to that *Parliament*, if, from the Annalists Computation, we may safely and truly aver, that the *Parliament-Men* were chosen after these Transactions at *London*, because Forty dayes at least interven'd between this time and the first *Wednesday* in *October*,

ber, whereon he sayes the *Parliament* began. If any be desirous of another Observation, I leave them to their own Liberty to infer, from History and the Premises, that it much conduc't to facilitate the *King's* Deposition, that he had no known, and generally acknowledg'd Heir, of his own Body lawfully begotten, boldly to stand up for Him, and strongly plead his Cause in Armour, for his own particular Interest, as well as out of a due sence of his Duty. Neither indeed do I well see how he could have any, since that he had none by his first Wife, that I read of, his second Queen was too young, another Heir was publickly pointed out to the Nation, and he himself was also loosely addicted, as seems plain beyond dispute. His Lascivious living being hinted to us in *Burton's* Historical Remarks of *London*, among the Articles drawn up against him; and we have great reason to think it was an imputation too true, when we read of several Ladyes expell'd the Court in the *Eleventh* of his Reign, by the Procurement of the contesting Lords; and a little before the sitting of the ~~Wonder-Working-Parliament~~; and take Notice, out of *Cotton's* Abridgment, of the *House of Commons* Request in the *Twentieth* Year, for the avoiding the outrageous Expences of the *King's* house, and namely of *Bishops*, and *Ladyes*, and the *King's* Answer thereto made, That he would be free therein; and that the *Commons* thereby had offended against him, his Dignity, and Liberty: Such was his Indignation against them for desiring to controul him in this Point; and so highly incens'd was he thereat, that, to Appease him, the Exhibiter of the Bill was adjudg'd to dye as a Traytor, though, upon some great Ones importunity, his Life was for that time spared,

and he himself at length restor'd in Blood, and to the recovery of his Goods, Livings, Lands, and Tennements, at the next *King's* comming to the Crown. But how, I trow, come the Bishops to be complain'd of by the *Commons* among the Misfes? Were they such Courtiers of Ladyes, as, instead of rebuking, to follow, or rather give bad Examples to the *King* and Country? Yet now I think on't, these were *Popish*, not *Protestant* Bishops: Though I scarce believe, every one of them, that, to the view of the World, gives himself a Protestant Title, is able well and truly to plead not Guilty: If *Noli-fet-ole-chery*, be a Motto rightly father'd upon one of our *Western* Diocesans.

How all things in a manner concur'd to further King *Richard's* Deposition, and that he was actually depos'd, hath already been spoken of, which nevertheless barely did not content the Party, but they would needs have it done in a formal and solemn way: First, the King must make a publick Renunciation of all Right, Title and Claim to the Crown, then Commissioners are by the States appointed in their Names to pronounce the Sentence of his Deposition from the Throne, and make to him a Resignation of their homage and fealty; for their Loyalty seems plainly enough to have been gone before. Neither did they think this enough, but were resolv'd over and above to leave Articles against him upon Record, wherein are exprest the ill things done by others in his Reign, and as they say, by his Authority, whereby they designed to justify what they had done towards the unhappy Kings Deposition, which visibly pay'd the way to his Grave. So pernicious is it for Princes to suffer their Authority

nity to be abus'd, to shelter other mens Crimes, or their Names to be made use of, without a Present Resentment, to carry on Designs hateful to the People, though they never consent thereto themselves as their own Act and Deed. For I hope we may charitably Conclude what the worshipful Knights, Sir *Mayor* and Sir *Haughty*, the other-ill belov'd wight, did, in laying a trap to catch the Contesting Lords in the 11th. year of this *King*, was without the *Kings* privity because he swore it, as in page , though possibly they shrouded themselves under the shelter of his Authority, and pretended his Warrant and Command for what they design'd and endeavour'd. And perhaps they had (as Sir *Richard Baker* words it) a warrant *Dormant*, to prosecute the *Kings* Ends without the *Kings* Knowledge.

The Articles and Objections laid against the *King* are to be found in *Cotton's* Abridgment. 1. H. 4. whence I trust I may securely transcribe them, without hazarding the Courteous Readers Displeasure, to shew him the grievances of the age, as they are there exprest in this form of words; Besides the *Kings* Oath made at his Coronation,

First, for wasting and bestowing of the Lands of the Crown upon unworthy Persons, and over-charging the Commons with Exactions. For that the *King* by undue means procur'd divers Justices to speak against the Law, to the Destruction of the Duke of *Gloucester*, and the Earls of *Arundel* and *Warwick* at *Shrewsbury*. For that the *King* against his Promise, procured the Duke of *Ireland* sundry Rebels about *Cheshire*, where diverse Murders by him were committed. For that the *King* against his own Promise and Pardon, at the Solemn Procession apprehended the Duke

of *Gloucester*, and sent him to *Callice*, there to be choked and murdered, beheading the Earle of *Arundel*, and banishing the Earl of *Warwick* and the Lord *Cobham*. For that the *Kings* Retinue, and rout gathered out of *Cheshire* about the apprehension of those Nobles, committed diverse Murders, Rapes, and other Fellonies, besides refusing to pay for their Victuals. For that the *King* condemned the Nobles aforesaid, for divers rodes made within the Realm, contrary to his open Proclamation. For that the *King* doubly Fined Men for their Pardons. For that the *King* to oppress his whole subjects, procured in his last Parliament, that the Power thereof was committed to certain Persons. For that the *King* being sworn to Minister right, did notwithstanding enact in the last Parliament, that no mediation should be made for the Duke of *Lancaster*, contrary to his said Oath. For that the Crown of *England* being freed from the *Pope*, and all other forraign Power, the *King* notwithstanding procured the *Popes* Excommunication on such as brake the last Parliament, in derogation of the Crown, Statutes and Laws of the Realm. For that the *King* banished the Duke of *Lancaster* for 10 years, without any Cause, as the same *King* openly affirmed. For that the *King* unlawfully revoked the Letters Patents made to the said Duke of *Lancaster*, in An. 21. For that the *King* contrary to the Laws and will of the Justices, suffered Sheriffs to continue longer than one year, and placed such therein, as were unfit. For that the *King* repayed not to his Subjects debts of them borrowed. For that the *King* in the time of Truce and Peace, exacted great Subsidies, and wasted the same about frivolous matters. For that the *King* refused to execute the

Laws

Laws, Saying that the Laws were in his Mouth and Breaſt. For that the *King*, by procuring by Statutes that he might be free as any of his Progenitors, did under colour thereof ſubvert Laws according to his Will. For that the *King* procured Knights of the Shires to be made to ſerve his own will. For that the *King* enforced Sheriffs to be Sworn to execute all Commandemens, under the *Great Seal*, *Privy Seal*, or *Signet*, contrary to their accuſtomed Oaths. For that the *King* to wrack mony from his Subjects, procured 17 ſeveral Shires to ſubmit themſelves to his Grace, whereby great ſums of mony were Levied. For that the *King* being Sworn to obſerve the Liberties of the Church, notwithstanding, at his Voyage into *Ireland*, enforced diſverſe Religious Perſons to give Horſe, Armour, and Carth. For that the Juſtices, for their good Council given to the *King*, were with evil Countenance, and threats rewarded. For that the *King* of his own Will, in paſſing into *Ireland*, carried with him, the *Treasures*, *Reliques*, and other *Jewels* of the Realm, which were uſed ſafely to be kept in the *Kings* own *Coffers* from all hazard : and for that the ſame *King* cancelled, and razed ſundry Records.

For that the *King* by writing to Forreign Princes, and to his own Subjects, is reputed univerſally, a moſt variable and diſſembling man. For that the *King* would commonly ſay among the Nobles, that all Subjects, Lives, *Lands*, and *Goods*, were in his hands without any forfeiture. For that the *King* ſuffered his Subjects to be condemned by Marshal-Law, contrary to his Oath and the Laws of the Realm. For that the Subjects being only bound by their Allegiance, were



yet driven to take certain New Oaths, for serving the folly of the *King*. For that the *King* by his private Letters, would charge the Ecclesiastical Ministers in any new Canonical matter, to stay, contrary to his Oath. For that the *King* by force in his Parliament, banished the Arch Bishop of *Canterbury*, without any good Ground. For that the *King* by his last Will passed under the *Great Seal*, and *Privy Signet*, gave unto his Successors, certain Money and Treasure, upon Condition to perform all the Acts and Orders in the last Parliament, which being ungodly and unlawful, he meant as ungodlily to dy in. For that the *King* in the 11th. of his Reign, in his Chapel, in the Manour of *Langley*, in the presence of the Duke of *Lancaster* and *Torke*, and others, received the Sacrament of the Lords Body, that he would never impeach the Duke of *Gloucester* his Uncle, for any thing before done; and yet to the Contrary procured him to be murdered. For that the *King* most fraudulently and untruely against his own Oath, Banished the Arch Bishop of *Canterbury*, and wasted his Goods: in which Article. in private Conference between the said Arch Bishop, the *King* in a manner prophesied, and doubted that the like would happen of himself; and thereupon shewed a special Token to the Arch Bishop, That if he sent the same at any time, that the Arch Bishop should look that the *King* would come to him.

These were the Imputations laid to his charge, and that they were then thought true, or at least not contradicted, is self-Evident, all seeming highly desirous of a Change, and few dispos'd to espouse the depos'd Kings Cause and Interest, so furious and violent was the Current of the Times,

Times, as to bear away well nigh all before it: That Parliament being so full of the new Kings Favourers; and so empty of the old Kings true and cordial Friends, that I remember to have read of but one, viz. the Loyal Bishop of *Carlisle*; who, after a little Demur of a few dayes time, upon a Motion made in Parliament about the disposal of King *Richard*, stood up boldly, and undauntedly, for his old Lord and Master, in the midst of his professed, and declared Enemies, and known Deserters. His Speech (as a rare Example of Fidelity giving us the very Quintessence of Loyalty) I shall venture to set down out of Sir *Richard Bakers* Chronicle, with the Consequents as follows.

"My Lords, The Matter now propounded, is of marvellous Weight and Consequence, wherein there are two Points chiefly to be considered; The First, whether King *Richard* be sufficiently put out of his Throne; The Second, whether the Duke of *Lancaster* be lawfully taken in. For the First, How can that be sufficiently done, when there is no Power sufficient to do it? The Parliament cannot, for of the Parliament the King is the Head; and can the Body put down the Head? You will say, but the Head may bow it self down; and may the King resign? It is true; but what force is in that which is done by force? And who knows not that King *Richard's* Resignation was no other? But suppose he be sufficiently out, yet how comes the Duke of *Lancaster* to be lawfully in? If you say by Conquest, you speak Treason; For what Conquest without Arms? And can a Subject take Arms against his lawful Sovereign, and not be Treason."

"Treason? If you say by Election of the State,  
 "you speak not reason; for what Power hath  
 "the State to Elect, while any is Living that  
 "hath Right to Succeed? But such a Successor  
 "is not the Duke of *Lancaster*, as descended  
 "from *Edmund Crouchback*, the Elder Son of  
 "King *Edward* the *Third*, though put by the  
 "Crown for deformity of his Body; for who  
 "knows not the falseness of this Allegation? See-  
 "ing it is a thing Notorious, that this *Edmund*  
 "was neither the Elder Brother, nor yet *Crook-*  
 "*Back't* (though called so from some other rea-  
 "son) but a goodly Personage, and without any  
 "deformity. And your selves cannot forget a  
 "thing so lately done, who it was that in the  
 "Fourth Year of King *Richard* was declared by  
 "Parliament to be Heir to the Crown, in case  
 "King *Richard* should dye without Issue. But  
 "why then is not that Claim made? Because fi-  
 "lent *Leges inter Arma*, What disputing of Titles a-  
 "gainst the stream of Power? But however it is  
 "extream Injustice, that King *Richard* should be  
 "condemn'd, without being heard, or once al-  
 "lowed to make his Defence. And now, My  
 "Lords, I have spoken thus at this time, that  
 "you may consider of it before it be too late;  
 "for as yet it is in your Power to undo that  
 "justly, which you have unjustly done.

Much to this Purpose was the Bishop's Speech;  
 but to as little purpose as if he had gone about  
 to call back Yesterday. The Matter was too  
 far gone; and scarce a Person there present,  
 that had not a Hope of either a private or pub-  
 lick Benefit by that which was done. Yet against  
 this Speech of the Bishop, there was neither pro-  
 testing

testing nor excepting: It passed in the House as but one Man's Opinion: And as for the King, it was neither fit he should use much Severity against any Member of that Parliament, which had so lately shewed so much Indulgence towards him; nor indeed safe, to be too hot in his Punishment, when he was yet scarce warm in his Government. Yet for a warning to use their Liberty of Speech with more Moderation hereafter; the Bishop was Arrested by the Marshal, and Committed to Prison in the *Abby* of *St. Albans*; but afterwards, without further Censure, set at Liberty, till upon a Conspiracy of Lords, wherein he was a Party; he was Condemned to Dye, though through Extremity of Grief he prevented Execution. Thus far the Chronicle.

King *Henry* is now got into the Throne, (*Richard* being thrust into a Prison, and afterwards into his Grave) and yet I don't find him so secure and well settled, but that he had many open Enemies ever and anon to Contest with, and not a few secret disguis'd Ones to fear and suspect, with so many prickly Thorns was his new-gotten Crown lin'd. Therefore we have little reason to believe, he would ever wilfully disoblidge that City, whose Power and Strength he so well knew. The Mummery design'd by some discontented Lords to be acted upon him at *Twelfthtide* at *Windsor*, in the First of his Reign; The Battle fought between him and *Sir Henry Hotspur*, at *Shrewsbury* in the *Third*: The Rising about *York* in the *Sixth*: And the Battle of *Bramham Moore* in the *Eighth*, besides several other secret Attempts and Conspiracies, were as so many Admonitions to him to Fortify himself, what he could, with the Citizens love and affection, as his

his surest earthly Bulwark and Defence, next to his prosperous Success in the aforesaid Contests, which prevented the discontented from coming near enough to *London*, to attempt the raising there of new Broils and Commotions to disturb his Repose, and the Cities Peace, if he had any Evil-willers therein capable of receiving ill Impressions. As perhaps he had but few there, such Care he took to oblige them, and scarce any occasion given to breed Murmurs and Complaints among them. For He, who meerly at the Commons request, in the *Fifth* of his Reign, remov'd Four of his Menial Servants out of his House, when he openly declar'd in Parliament, he then knew no cause thereof, but only for that they were hated of the People; and so often gratified his House of Commons in their Petitions about his prime and principal Officers, and privy Counsellors, must needs be thought more ready to increase the Number of his Friends, than to make himself more Enemies, especially in a City of such great Riches, Power, and Strength, as *London* was known to be beyond denial, dispute, or contradiction.

The City flourished under this King in the Renovation of old, the *Guildhall* of *London*, and the Erecting of new publick Structures, the Conduit upon *Cornhil*, and the *Stocks-Market-House*; was famous abroad for the abundance of her Traffique, and number of her Traders; and increas'd at home in Repute and Renown, by the prevailing of her Mayor, and Commonalty, in their Contest with the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, and other Lords, and Knights, about pulling up the Wares in *Thames*, (over which by their Charter they claim'd a large Power as Conservators of that their beloved River) besides the many grounds and reasons

the

the King had to Glory in his confidence of the Love and Loyalty of her Citizens, and rejoyce in the continuance of their Affection to him and his Family. As is evident from the timely Advertisement the Mayor brought him, in the *First* of his Reign, of the Conspiracy of the discontented Lords (who, under the colour of *Christmas* Pastimes, as Mumming, &c. design'd Treacherously to have Slain him) to the forcing him very seasonably, as incredulous as he was before, into a belief of the reality of the Plot, and accompanied him the same Night from *Windsor* to *London*; whereby he purchas'd to himself Security, disappointed the Conspirators, and got time and opportunity to punish the Plotters. And may also be infer'd from the successful care the *Mayor*, *Sheriffs*, and other *Citizens* took in stilling the midnight difference happening in *Eastcheap* on *Midsummer-Eve*, in the *Twelfth* of his Reign, when two of his young Sons Sup't there late at Night, and might conveniently have been greatly indanger'd, had the tumult lasted any time. These are Instances I expressly mention'd in History; and who knows how many more there might be, that were never so much taken Notice of by the Writers of that Age, as to be carefully transmitted to Posterity by their pens? Peradventure there were many more Evidences. But I will not so much insist upon an Argument, that is but barely possible and probable, nor, with folly and impertinence enough, stay to beg the point of the Reader upon an uncertain surmise and conjecture. Though it would be as absurd in him to affirm, That all things ever done in the World, since the Invention of Letters, have been committed to Paper, as it would be monstrously Ridiculous to pretend, to have seen and read all things

re-

remarkable, that ever were Wrote of this Honorable City, and her praise-worthy Actions. 'Tis enough for my weakness and inability if I can tolerably make out what I have here design'd, concerning the Honour and Renown of this so famous and powerful a City, without offering at all the attesting Proofs, and confirming Evidences, that are to be found on Record. And if this Attempt shall be well accepted, it may haply be an encouragement to some more Learned, more Able, & more Skilful Pen, to produce the other more convincing Arguments, scatter'd up and down in the Annals, Chronicles, and other Monuments of Historians, and by gathering together all the divided fragments of Remark, reduce them into one solid, firm, and lasting Peice, or make better improvement of the Arguments and Evidences here produc'd.

Come we now to *Henry* the 5th. A Prince not so wild in his Youth, when a Subject, and by his Father suspected of ambitious designs, (though Causlessly, and on no better grounds and reasons than the Calumnies, Slanders, and detractions of evil dispos'd persons about the Court) as celebrated, when King, for the prudent Reformation of his own Person, wise Conduct of his affairs, and happy Government of the Realm, for his Valour, Magnanimity, and Heroical Actions, and the ever glorious Achievements of his Reign, being one of the most Martial Princes, that ever sat upon the *English* Throne, and beyond all his Predecessors, so succesfull in his *French* Expeditions. So that *Cressy* and *Poitiers* have highly advanced the Name and Renown of the famous Black Prince, and *Agincourt* shall eternize *Henry* of *Monmouth* through all Generations, and with this addition of unparalleled Glory, That he liv'd and dyed in the

height

height of Grandeur, and his Victories were not sullied with after Reproaches. Under therefore so Renowned a Conqueror, and so Good a King, 'tis no marvel that we read of no troubles in our *English Jerusalem*, nor hear of Complaints in her Streets. We may expect rather to hear of the Gallantry of Rareeshews and fine fights, Pageants and Presents, the harmonious concert of *Trumpets* and *Drums*, and the tunable Musick of *Bells*, the loud sounding Acclamation of People, and the unaccountable Number of *Bonfires*, and fire-works, the Common consequents of Victories, and Triumphs, and the usual Entertainment of Conquerours.

Wherefore I should now pass on of course to the next Kings reign, but that by the way I shall venture to trespass a little upon the Readers Patience, and to make an Observation or two upon the grounds and occasional Causes of reviving the War with *France*, which was under this King attended with such a Train of Victories. We are to know then from such Authentick Authors, as *Fabian*, *Baker* and the like, that the Commons harping upon the same string, they did in *Henry* the 4th. days, viz. the Clergies Temporaltyes, by bringing in a *Bill* to take them away, the Bishops, to divert the storm, put the King upon claiming *France* as his Right, and offered him considerable sums of mony to engage and assist him therein, whereby the Cloud, before hanging over their heads, was made to break upon the *French* Coasts, & they, who by their Office should have approved themselves the Peace-makers of the world, stir'd up the Furies of War & destruction, and incited their Country-men to sheath their *Swords* in their Neighbours Bowels, to preserve to themselves their large Revenues and worldly grandeur, their  
much



much envied Lands, Honours, and Preferments.

Another advantage they likewise laid hold on, to Promote their own Earthly advancement, by making use of this opportunity, to suppress the growth and encrease of the *Wicklivists*, the *Puritans* and *Presbyterians* of the age, whose Numbers began now more and more to encrease in *City* and *Country*, and grew formidable to the whole *Popish Hierarchy*. These men, whom they could not vanquish by dint of Argument, so conformable were their Doctrines to the Scriptures, they thought it easier to oppress by the Civil Authority, and the Power of the Magistrates Sword, whereon they had of late set a keener Edg, by procuring some laws to be made against them, under the Name and Notion of Lollards. And yet, such was the ill fate of opposing the spreading of the Gospel, that these Assertors of it's verity, like the Primitive Christians of old, dayly encreast in Numbers and Repute under their oppressions, and grew every age more numerous in spite of all the malice and opposition of their cruel and blood thirsty Enemies : and much too by the same way and methods, the Evidence of truth, and influence of good lives and Exemplary Conversations. Like the ancient Christians they were driven into holes and secret places, into private Conventicles and separate Assemblies. And though they were not, like them, at every turn call'd upon to be cast to the *Lions*, for disobeying the Emperours Edicts and Commands, yet away with them to the fire, and to burning of the Hereticks, or in a little softer phraise, to putting the Kings Laws in Execution, were the common outcryes made against them.

But because the diversity of their Religion and their

their difference in opinion from the rest of the Nation, were not thought Incentives strong enough to stir up the popular Rage & Fury, a more Compendious way was found out, instead of charging on their account all the Mischiefs, Miseries, and Disasters of the Times, to lay the detestable Crimes of Treason and Conspiracy at their doors. Hence may we conclude sprung the Informations, given into the King, of some, that had conspir'd suddenly to have Slain Him and his Brethren, and of numerous Assemblies meeting in *St. Giles's Fields* to that End. Hereon possibly may we ground the Rumour spread abroad of great offers made of Money by *Sir John Oldcastles* Favourers to the *Scots*, to invade the Realm in the Kings absence in *France*, of the meeting of *Sir John* himself (who was a known *Wicklivist*) with *Douglas* the *Scot* at *Pomfract*, on the same Errand, and of Indentures and other Writings made betwixt him and the Duke of *Albany*, containing Instructions to the *Scots* to besiege *Roxborough* and *Barwick*. Such Stories may we look upon, as Reports likely enough to have been purposely spread abroad, to stir up the Peoples Animosities against the Dissenters of the times: Hitherto likewise happily may we impute the Original of the *Schedules*, said to be nail'd upon the Church doors in *London*, with threats of an hundred thousand Men, ready to rise upon Occasion. *Stow* indeed, out of *Walsingham* the Monk, charges them upon *Wicklifs* favourers; yet have we reason to suspect the first Author, as too partial in the Case, and question whether these were not *Popish* Shams put upon the Nation by the *Wicklivists* Enemies, to raise a colour for an Out-cry against them. For at the Parliament of the *Fifth* of this King, we read, in *Cotton's* Abridgment, of an haynous complaint against Insur-

u

recti-

rections; & in the end (mind this) they suspect they were Lollards & Traitors; which made a way for a Request that Commissions at all times be granted to enquire of them. Whoever was Originally in fault, we may see from this where the blame should light, and the severest Prosecution too, could the *Popish* Prelates have had their Will, notwithstanding the slightness of their thin-spun pretences, and weakness of their groundless Imputations. A pretty device, to make Riots and Insurrections; and then accuse the contrary Party of them, as if they had been so Fanatical, as tumultuously to meet together, *vi & armis*, without any Arms about them, or Weapons in their hands, to disturb the Kings Peace; and with no worse design, than the Warrant of annual Customs, whereon some, in an unheard of manner, without Law or Reason, and contrary to common sence, intruded, to deprive them of the benefit thereof.

Out of the forementioned Monkish Writer, *Stow* tells us of an Army of Twenty Five Thousand, that were to have met Sir *John* in *St. Giles's* Fields; and yet for all this great Cry we find not One Hundred taken, though he affirms Sixty Nine of them to be condemn'd of Treason (upon such kind of proofs perhaps, as these, whereon the Composer of Sir *Walter Rawleigh's* Life makes him to have been found Guilty of Treason in the *First* of King *James*, for which he had the honour to be Beheaded about Forty Years after; upon his Return from his unsuccessful *Guyana* Voyage) and Thirty Seven Hang'd. But the Record out of the Kings-Bench, the most authentick Evidence, mentions only, That Sir *John Oldcastle*, and others, to the number of Twenty Men, call'd *Lollards*, at *St. Giles*, did conspire to Subvert the State of the *Clergy* (this it seems then was the

the principal Offence; the rest Aggravations, without which the Scales could not have been well weigh'd down) and to Kill the King, and his Brother, and other Nobles, as any *English* Reader may see in *Cottons* Abridgment at the afore-cited Parliament of the *Fifth* of this King. Where now are any good grounds for this malicious Out-cry upon the Dissenting *Wickliviſts* for Traiterous Plotters and Conspirators: And whats become of the great Army that Fame and Report had Rais'd? But perhaps the Inn-keepers, in the adjacent Hamlets, and neighbouring Villages, were not only their familiar Friends, but intimate Acquaintance; as Mr. *Bags* ingenuity (to the elevating, and surprizing of our Minds) hath taught us to expreſs it; how otherwise this *Achilles*, and his dreadful Army of *Mirmidons*, could have continued thus unseen, and ſlipt away in Diſguiſe, ſeems not reconcileable to Senſe and Reaſon. And yet how ſuch great Numbers could have lain hid within the compaſs of a *Read<sup>d</sup> mote*, or have been put like *Homers Iliads* in a *Nut-shell*, is a thing that paſſeth all my underſtanding to conceive. If ever ſuch a thing was, as doubtleſs it never hapned in *Europe*, nor amongſt either our antient or modern Reformers; certainly then this unconceivable Wonder muſt have fell out in the Reign of *Queen Dick*, King of no Lands, upon the *Terra incognita* of ſome other of the *Fairy* Iſlands, bordering upon *Utopia*; where Prince *Oberon* and Queen *Mab* liv'd in dayly dread and fear of King *Arthur*, Sir *Lancelot*, and Sir *Triftram*, and the reſt of the Knights of his round Table, or miſerably perplext themſelves every hour and minute with needleſs Scruples, Jealouſies, and Suſpicions, about the unimagi'd Deſigns of the Noble Duke *Ogier*, to advance himſelf and his little *Mervine*, who af-

terwards did such heroick Exploits upon the *Souldan* of *Babylon*; and his bloody cut-throat Army of *Sarazens*, when he turn'd to the Assistance of the famous *Charlemain* and his Peers.

But laying aside these idle Stories of the Monkish Romancers, I pass on, from our famous win-All, *Henry* of *Monmouth*, to the unfortunate *English* lose-All, *Henry* of *Windsor*, a far better Man than *King*, as being more intentive upon the Devotions of the Times, than the Government of his Realm; and better skill'd in his Beads, than his Scepter: and therefore seems rather cut out for a Priest than a Prince. In this Kings Minority, while such great States-men and Patriots, as his most renowned Uncles, *Bedford* and *Gloucester*, sat at the Helm, and steadily Steer'd the Ship of the *Common-Wealth*, one by his Arms, the other by his Arts, Honour, and Renown attended upon the *English* Banners in *France*; and the Land at Home in peace and quietness Flourished under the benign Influence of their successful Councils, for the most part free from civil Broils and Commotions; *King Henry* being in actual Possession of both Crowns, under the conduct of such noble and worthy Directors. But when Death had snatch'd away one from his Regency in *France*; and the other was dismiss'd from his Protectorship in *England* through the course of time: The King being grown in Years, and come to ripeness of Age, though not it seems to such a degree of understanding, as might capacitate him to act the part of a King, further than in Name and Shew; his Affairs in forreign Parts soon went miserably to wrack; and being turn'd out of almost all beyond Sea, deadly Fewds and Annimosities (the usual attendants of ill Success abroad) encreast so fast at Home, between the Nobles and great Persons

sons of the Realm, and such intestine Jars sprung up in the Nation, that after many Battles fought, and much Royal Blood spilt, the *York* Party prevail'd over the *Lancastrians*; and the poor King himself, though the Miracle of Age for Devotion, lost his Crown, Life, and All at last.

Whether 'twas purely the ill success abroad, or the ill management of the State at home, the unhappy Fate attending the Kings Matching with Queen *Margaret*, to the breach of a former Contract, or the unseasonable stirring of her and her accomplices to Suppress, Ruine, and Root out the other Party, whereby they were compell'd for their own Security to link themselves together in the strictest bonds of Confederacy, and stand continually upon their own Guard: Whether the weakness of the King, or the restless Spirit of the Queen (too Active for her Sex), The much resented Death of the Duke of *Glocester*, or the subtle Arts and Devices of the Duke of *York* (into the particulars whereof I will not now descend, as being the Subject of a distinct Treatise by it self) and the Popularity of the great Earl of *Warwick*. Whether 'twas any of these single, or all of them joyntly concurring, or rather the over-ruling Providence of an Almighty Being, that made this strange Alteration in the Face of things, to the dethroning of one Prince (the most devoted of his time to religious Exercises) and exalting of another, as much given to Women, as the former to Religion, whereby the White Rose overtopt the Red: Certain it is, the City of *London* had a great Influence upon these Transactions, and the favour the Citizens bore to the Duke of *York*, and his Party, contributed highly to the advancing of his Interest above the King Regnants, if they were not the only grand causes under Heaven, that produc't such wonderful and stupendious Effects. This the

more clearly to demonstrate, I shall not oblige myself exactly to trace the whole Series of State affairs, through the following Princes Reigns, nor over-scrupulously confine myself to the Life of this or that King distinctly and apart. But design to view the differences between *York* and *Lancaster* in the lump, considering them under the Notion of one particular Contest, though of a long and large duration, and throughout with all plainness and perspicuity, I can lay claim to, shew what powerful Rays of Influence from *London* were shed abroad upon the Face of the Land. For I intend not to Write an Abridgement of *Englands* general History, as having only undertaken a particular Argument relating to this Honourable Cities Fame, Renown, and Glory abroad; Strength, Riches, and Power at home within her self; and the various Influences she cast all over *England* in the more special turns and changes of Affairs: For the rest, the Curious may peruse the laborious Works of our *English* Historians.

Therefore, choosing my own Method, I shall make a division of what I have to produce in this place, into two Parts or general Heads, under which I hope to comprehend the most material Passages I meet with suitable to the design and purport of this Attempt: The first containing Instances of *Londons* affection to the Red Rose; and the other shewing the solicitous care and regard she had for the preservation, growth, and advancement of the White.

*First* then and foremost, to begin with the Citizens respect to the House of *Lancaster*, who bore the Red Rose for their Badg, of their continued Favour and Affection thereto, in the prime of its flourishing condition, while the many and great Victories gain'd in *France* were yet fresh in their Memories, and *Henry* the *Sixth* enjoy'd the Fruits of his

Fathers

Fathers Labours, and retain'd the *English* Conquests therein; there is no doubt to be made. But I presume I have a much stronger proof to produce, from no less convincing an Argument than Statute Law (as authentick an Evidence in the Case, as the Subject is capable of) to be found *Anno octavo Henrici sexti. cap. 11.* where we have express mention made of the entire affections and great kindneses done, and shewed to the said King, in all his Affairs, by the Citizens of the City of *London*; which to reward, and for the future the more to encourage, the King was induc'd by Authority of Parliament to give them leave to put and take in Apprentices according to their ancient manner, form, or custom; of which they had some time before been abridg'd by a former Statute, to the great hindrance and damage likely thereby to redound to them.

If any shall require further Instances hereof, let them but have recourse to the Annals of this Kings Reign; and there I doubt not but they'll have their Expectations answer'd, and their Curiosity highly satisfied, when they shall have carefully and thorowly observ'd the Noble Equipage of the Mayor, Aldermen, and Citizens in the *Tenth* Year, when they rode forth to meet the King upon his return out of *France*, the Pomp and Gallantry, wherewith they receiv'd him at *London*, and entertain'd him in his passage through it, and the costly Present they made him afterwards at *Westminster*: And take Notice of their splendid appearance in Scarlet, blew Gowns, broider'd Sleeves, and red Hoods, to convey his Princely Bride, Queen *Margaret*, through the City in the *Twenty-Third* of his Reign.

But, when this Daysy Flower of *France* being thus linkt to the Red Rose of *England*, the Queen, and her Creatures rul'd all about the King at home, and things went every day worse and worse abroad,



through Envy and Emulation among the Nobles, and negligence of the Kings Council, ill conduct and management of State Affairs by the new Favourites at Court ; and the good Duke of *Glocester*, greatly below'd and ador'd among the Commons, was privily taken out of the way in a clandestine manner, to the great and bitter resentments of the People ; the Citizens soon began to alter in their affections and inclinations, and look with favourable Eyes upon the opposite Party, then springing up under *Richard* Duke of *York*, the chief and principal Head thereof, whose Sails, upon the aforesaid Dukes death, being full blown with fresh Gales of Ambition, He became a secret pretender to the Crown, and privately among his Familiars whisper'd a more plausible Right and Title thereto, than the King *Regnant* himself had, though in actual Possession. Yet they did not so soon forget their old Love, as presently to side with the *Yorkists* against the *Lancastrians*, but seem for a while to have continued, as it were, in a state of indifferency, sometimes favouring the one, sometimes the other, as if uncertain with whom to side, till the Number of publick Grievances being greatly encreast, or else more eagerly and plainly remonstrated to them by the other Party ; they more openly at length shifted all their Sails, and with fix't Resolutions espous'd the *Yorkist* Interest, and so that Family got Possession of the Throne thereby. Then which, what greater Evidence can there be of the Cities Power and Influence in those Times ? And yet in this interval and space of time, which I venture, and I hope with truth enough, to term the State of her indifferency or neutrality, several other Instances of her Power are produceable for the further illustration of the Point in hand, to demonstrate beyond dispute, that the variation, alteration, and change of the Citizens Minds over-rul'd the

the Affairs of the State in each turn and change of Things, though as mutable for a season, as the ebbing and flowing of the Sea; yet likewise as successful as the turning, or returning of the Tyde, in bearing all before them.

The first Instance that comes to my hand, shall be that of *Jack Cade*, Captain *Mendal*, who calling himself *Mortimer* Cousen to the Duke of *Yorke*, upon the specious promises of reforming grievances, and freeing the Commons from immoderate Taxes and Impositions, the same of keeping good Orders among his people, and his successful overthrow of the *Staffords* with other Hotspurs of the Court, at *Seven-Oke-Wood*, had so strengthened himself, (the City of *London* being at that time faith *Stow* full favourable to him) that, upon the King and Queens remove from the City to *Killingworth Castle*, distrusting their own Servants and Soldiers, he came to *Southwarke* and marched over the *Bridg* in good Order into the City, with such Confidence and assurance that passing along by *London-Stone*, he struck it with his *Sword* and said, *Now is Mortimer Lord of London*; and so possibly might have continued (he had so won the Hearts of the Commons by his orderly behaviour, and got such an encrease of Power, as to give the Mayor Orders how he would have his People dispos'd of, they coming and going freely as they pleas'd) had he but followed the Mayors Advice, who bad him take heed, he attempted nothing against the Quiet of the City, and made good his own Reply; *Let the Workers take notice of our honest Intention by our Actions.*

But when he once grew so inconsiderately Insolent, as to fall a robbing the Citizens themselves, he presently lost their Favour and good Will; the honest and wealthy Commons disliking such extravagant Proceedings, and then the Mayor and Aldermen, with

with their Assistance took Councel together, to drive him and his Adherents out of the City, and oppose his further entrance thereunto. The effect whereof in the Issue was, that, After a sharp bickering and contest upon the Bridge, the Mayor and the Citizens got the better, the *Kentish*-Men were worsted, a truce for a few hours was concluded on, whereof the Lord *Chancellor* took the Advantages by a general pardon to disperse the malecontent, and *Cade* himself was within a little time after Slain in a Garden in *Suffex*, So fatal was it to him by this his Robberies thus to have displeas'd the *Citizens*. For *Fabian* tells us expressly, that had it not been for that, he might have gone far, and brought his purpose to good effect, if he had intended well. And so Prejudicial might it have been to the Court, had he not by these extravagancies forfeited that favour and respect, which had before been shewn him at *London* to such a degree, that the Commons were very highly incens'd against Alderman *Horne*, for opposing the admission of him and his company thereinto, at a Common-Councel held by the Mayor at *Guild-Hall*, and speaking vehemently against such as were for his entrance, and ceas'd not, saith the *Annalist*, till they had him committed to *New-gate*. But now the tide is turn'd again, and the King himself is joyfully received by the *Citizens* of that very same place, from whence ere-while he thought it his best security to depart. As the *Citizens* Favour ebb'd and flow'd, such was the posture of his affairs, in the wane or the full, so stood his fortune, either increasing or decreasing: whereof here is a demonstration, that no body can deny, that has but an Historial Faith, unless he would have us believe, that the many Historians, that writ hereof, could joyn altogether in an unusual confederacy, at several times and from several places was

to impose a manifest falshood upon posterity. An Opinion almost as absur'd, (pardon the comparison) though not to that degree, as theirs, who as foolishly as prophanely fancy the original Penmen of the Scriptures made a mutual agreement though in several ages and from different parts of the Universe) to obtrude those writings upon the World for the Word of the Eternal God, out of I know not what design of State-Policy to keep the Common People in greater awe and subjection to their Governours.

How fair a Cast the *Yorkists* lately had for the same through the City's Favour, till their own management lost it, we have seen. But that was not all. It left such a rub in their way, that they may be suppos'd to have spoyl'd their bowling up-and-down the next open adventure. For in the *thirtieth* year the Duke of *York* in person having rais'd an army, upon disgusts and pretences, and the King opposing in the Head of another to oppose Him, Heere he runs out of the way, and eschews the Kings Army, and hastens as fast as he could up to *London*, seeking doubtleless for assistance or recruits thence, but being deceived in his expectations, upon notice given him that the *Londoners* would not admit his presence, to refresh himself or his People, he straightway passes away from *London* over the *Thames* to *Kent*, and what pray now was the event here? Not according to his wishes successful we may suppose. For from the History we may easily perceive, he thought it his greatest interest to come to terms of accommodation with the King (had there been such been his apprehensions, doubtless he would have yielded thereto) dismisses his Army, and comes in person into his Majesties Presence, where controlling with the Duke of *Somerset*, he himself was accused of conspiring the Kings Death, and

and usurpation of the Crown, and sent before the King as a Prisoner to *London*, where he was kept a while, till upon a Report of his Sons coming with another Army towards *London*, the Queen and Her Council thought it convenient to set him at Liberty, upon taking openly his Oath of Submission and Allegiance, at the High-Altar in *St. Pauls Church*, before the King and great part of His Nobility.

To what a plunge was the Duke and his party here driven, and with how many difficultyes did the King and his side likewise contest, while neither of them were absolutely sure and certain of the *Citys* that she would cordially assist the one against the other. *York* was disappointed in his Hopes and Confidence of the *Citys* favour, and thereupon had run himself into great danger, for which he knew at that Instant no better remedy, than to swear over again his Allegiance to him, whom he had intended and designed for a long time to depose. The Kings Party heard of an Army marching up towards *London* against them, and rather then venture to throw themselves upon the hazard of a battail, without better assurance of the *Citys* Love and affection, they consented to set at Liberty the Head of the opposite Party, then in their Hands a Prisoner, and permitted him to go whither he pleas'd, notwithstanding they had so much reason to fear and dread his Designs. And possibly they esteem'd it greater wisdom to Temporise for a Season, till they had made their Party visibly stronger in *London*, and more able to cope with that secret reserve of favourers, which they might fear the Duke of *York* had still in the *City*, as concluding him and his party a litle better advised, than to break out into open Arms against the present established Government, without some probability of help and assistance thence, or at least some suggestions thereof before they put on their

Armour

Armour. This seeming not an irrational supposal, appears to me to carry the face of another argument of the Citys Power. For tis undeniably plain, that the *Yorkists* carryed the day, when she afterwards within a few years declared her self openly for them, as I shall come by and by to shew, when I have produc'd two or three passages more, as further evincing proofs of this Honourable Citys Strength and Influence.

One is noted in *Fabian* in the *Thirtyfifth* year, upon occasion of dissention and unkindness hapning between the young Duke of *Somerset* and the Earl of *Salisbury's* Son, both at that time lodg'd within the City. For the *Mayor*, having notice hereof, is expressly said to have ordain'd such Watches and Provisions in the City, that if either had stir'd, he was able to have subdued both Parties, and kept them in dures till he had known the Kings further Pleasure. And the Event was answerable to his Intent. For the Friends on both sides, being well aware of the strict Watch and Ward, and the Consequents thereof, labour'd so effectually for an Accommodation, that they concluded an Agreement between them for that time, without any further disturbance for the present that we read of: So well able were the *Citizens* to keep and preserve the Kings peace, whether they would or no. They durst not provoke each other to open Hostilities in that City, whose Power and Armes they had most assuredly raised about their ears, to their mutual disadvantage, had they been guilty of such unadvised rashness and daring presumption, as to slight and contemn her Magistrates Order and Resolution. An other stands on Record, in the same Author and other Writers, among the next years transactions, under the Magistralty of *Godfery Boleyn* and Shrievalries of *William Edward* and *Thomas Reyner*. For upon the Kings  
calling

Calling of a grand Council at *London*, to accommodate differences, and the Lords of each Party coming up thereto with great Retinues, they having from *Four-hundred* to *One-thousand-Five-hundred* in a Company, & lodging some within & some without the *City*, holding their Consultation apart each from other, as if at mutual defiance, and ready to put all to the decision of the *Sword*, the Mayor kept *Five-thousand Citizens* (as *Fabian* Numbers them) daily in Arms, riding about the *City* and *Subburbs* to preserve the peace, and for the night Watch provided *Two-thousand* to give Attendance upon three Aldermen till *Seven* a clock next morning, that the day Watch was set, by reason whereof (continues my Author) good order and rule was kept, and no man so hardy once to attempt the breaking the Kings peace. The Council was held in quietness, and a Reconciliation patch'd up for the time. For who durst move when the *City* says nay?

Several such Instances are to be seen in the Chronicles, and have been hinted before in the precedent Relation: And if need were I might produce the Disturbance likely to have hapned in the *Fourth* year of this King, by the Bishop of *Winchesters* meanes, then at Variance with the Protector the Duke of *Gloucester*, when upon strict Commandment given to the Mayor, he set a sure Watch by night, that kept out the Bishops Servants by force, and would not permit them to enter the *City* over the *Bridg*, whereupon a pacification was at length concluded between these two great Men, their differences in time amicably adjusted, and the *City* seems to have protected the Protector himself: But that I hasten to the second general Head, before propos'd, under which I am to make out the visibility of the *City's* affection to the house of *York*, distinguish'd from that of *Lancaster* by the white Rose, their particular

icular badg, and thee ffect thereof her influencing the nation in their favour, in behalf of the *Torkists* Interest, to the raising it up above the *Lancastrians*. And this may be demonstrated, beyond contradiction, both from the suspicions fears, and jealousies of the Queen and the Court, that in their Hearts the *Citizens* bore too great Respect to the other side, and would assist them upon Occasion, and from their actual joyning at last openly with the *Torkists* in word and deed, to the visible exaltation of that Family above the other: whereby the *White Rose* grew up amain, and flourished not only above the rest of the flowers of the field, but also above the *Red*, though it's whiteness was first ting'd with a *Scarlet* dye, and the *Red* had lost much of it's, before lovely, ruby Colour, so much blood was there shed in this unhappy Contest. It being related out of *Philip de-Comines*, that, within his Remembrance, in the *Civil-Wars* of *England* dyed above *Eighty* Persons of the *Blood Royal*.

For the proof of the Queens Suspensions, or others Apprehensions, Instances more than one or two, and a triumvirate of Witnesses may be brought. *Stow* tells us before the battail of *St. Albans*, how that the King having assembled his Power to oppose the Duke of *Tork*, then marching towards *London* at the Head of an Army, his meaning was rather to meet the Duke in the *North* parts, than about *London*, where it was thought he had too many friends, and therefore departs with speed from *Westminster* on the same intent: And afterwards acquaints us, that upon the discharging of *Tork* and *Salisbury* of their high Offices and Places of Government about the King, This change among the Nobility caus'd sudden alterations and attempts (which he calls Seditious) to spring in the Commonalty, especially in the *City of London*. *Fabian* informes us that the Queen caus'd the King to remove



remove in his *Thirty-fifth* from *London* to *Coventry*, and their held him a long season, as suspecting the *City of London*, and deeming it to be more favourable to the Duke of *Tork's* Party, than to Hers. *Baker* gives us much the same Story, under the Notion of the Queens perswading the King, for his Health and Recreation, to make a Progress into *Warwickshire*, as finding the little Respect the *Londoners* bore to Her Party, or the Kings. And *Stow* shall here bring up the Rear, to back their Informanions, with this expresseion, that, because the Duke was had more in estimation among the *Citizens*, than either the King or Queen, she caus'd the King to make his Progress, as perceiving she could attempt nothing against him near to the *City of London*.

If we consider Actions, and respect Matters of Fact, we shall find the *Torkists* often received at *London*, when the *Lancastrians* were either expressly refus'd, or at least compell'd to get further off into other parts, for their better security and safeguard. After the *Torkists* had won the Battel at *St. Albans*; *London* was the place whereto they presently remov'd, carrying the King along with them, and kept there their *Whitsuntide* with great Joy and Solemnity. When an Assault was made at Court upon the Potent Earl of *Warwick*, a great *Torkist*, as he was coming from the Councel Table, by the Kings Servants with Intentions to have Slain him, *London* was the place, whereto he Row'd in all hast, as soon as he got into his Barge; and thereby escaping the danger intended, he Consults with the Principals of his Party, and retires afterwards to *Callice*. This was the place, to which the Chronicle saith the Earl of *Salisbury*, his Father, was coming up with some Thousands of Men, when he was necessitated to Fight his Way through his Enemies in *Bloreheath* Field.

Now

Here likewise was *Warwick* received, encouraged, and refreshed, in the 38th. of *Hen. 6.* before the Battel of *Northampton*, when the Lord *Scales*, appointed by the other side with some Troops to go and secure the City, was directly refused admission by the Mayor, and being received into the Tower, he was besieged by Land and Water, and they of the City planted great Guns against it, and break the Walls in divers places: And, after the fatal over-throw of the *Lancastrians* at the aforesaid Battels, hitherto was the King conveyed by the Party, (a Prisoner in effect, tho' in shew a King) as if eager there to shew their Triumphant Success, or else further to secure to themselves the *Londoners* good will, love and affections, by their Presence. For *Fabian* tells us, they return'd hither in haste, upon their obtaining this Victory, the Duke of *York* comes out of *Ireland* to them, and after a Report banded about the City, that King *Henry* was to be Deposed, and the Duke to be made King, (to make Tryal doubtless of the peoples mind, and sound the Citizens temper and inclination) he lays Claim to the Crown in open Parliament, and had it at last Entail'd upon himself and his Heirs, King *Henry* to retain the Name and Honour of King during Life, if he did not voluntarily Resign, and the Duke of *York* to be Declared Heir Apparent to the Crown, and Protector of the King's Person, Lands and Dominions, with some other Conditions, Exceptions, and Reservations.

This we may suppose was as much as they then found the Citizens willing to agree and consent to for the present. For we have it from *Stow* on the one hand, that the Duke of *York* when he Challeng'd the Kingdom as right Heir, (which *Cotton's Abridge-*ment fixes upon the 16th. of *October*) purposed to have been Crowned on *Allhallan-day* next following: and, on the other side, that the King was very much favoured, and highly honoured by the common People.

for his Holiness of life, and abundant Clemency. Whether the Citizens would have yielded to more or not, I cannot be positive, but this I am sure of, that they so far gave way, that now the *York* Party had got much the better end of the Staff by an Act of Parliament, as well as by Arms, Title, and the Cities Affections, and made use of it accordingly to the Old Kings actual Deposition, and the setting up of a New one at *London*, before the next Spring was over, by the concurrent consent of many substantial Citizens thereof.

This the *Yorkist* Faction had reason enough, notwithstanding their prosperous success in the Country, to acknowledge as a great favour of the Commonalty of *London*, and impute the following success to their Constancy, in adhering to their Party, after a double overthrow given the *Yorkists* by the *Lancastrians*, when the Magistracy seemed, in part, at least, to have altered Opinions and Resolutions, if not their Affections. For, would but the Commons have sate still, and continued Neutral in the Contest, the other side was in a fair way to have made their Party good against the *Yorkists*: but the Commons opposition to their Mayors Proceedings, stem'd the Current, to the others benefit, and the manifest disadvantage of the Queen and the Court. Whereby we may observe where lies the strength of the City, and who are likeliest in the end, to carry the day, the Mayor, or the Commons; when they vary in their Sentiments, and as different Parties pull two contrary ways.

The whole Story, the Occasion and the Consequences are to be seen in our *English* Historians, who, among the diversity of their Relations in many things, and wonted variety in expressing the Transactions of the Times, concur nevertheless in the Issue and Event of the Actions then in hand.

hand: For let any of them write never so partially out of Favour and Affection, the Truth will out at last, and shall prevail against all opposition.

The Queen with her Northern Army had overthrown and slain *Richard Duke of York*; and routed his Party at *Wakefield*, and afterwards discomfitted the Earl of *Warwick* and his Power at Saint. *Albans*, upon *Bernard Heath*, and so delivered King *Henry* out of their hands, who pretended to be his Life Guard, but were in feality his Keepers, Observers, Overseers, and Governours, or, in an yet harsher term though as true a fence, his Jaylors, upon which important Successes, the Queen sent to the Mayor of *London*, willing and commanding him in the King's Name speedily to send her Victuals without delay, for her Army: which Command the Mayor strove presently with great diligence to put in Execution, by preparing several Cart-Loads of Lenten Provision, and sending them to *Cripple-Gate*, towards the *Lancastrians* Camp at Saint *Albans*. But there the Commons unanimously withstood their further passage, and by strong hand kept the Carts from going out of *London*, saying, It did not behove them to feed their Enemies, who intended to Rob the City, and having repulsed the Northern Horsemen robbing in the Subberbs, upon their attempt to enter that way into the City, and slain three of them, continued so firm and fixt in their Resolutions, that let the Mayor do what he could by Exhortation and Arguments, to shew them the danger, that might ensue by stopping the Carts, he could neither reclaim nor alter their minds, nor by any means prevail upon them, but in the end was fain to send the Recorder and some of the Aldermen to the Kings

Council, to request the Northern Mens Dismission, besides two Female Mediators to interceed for him to the Queen; and excuse his not using force in those dangerous and doubtful times; against the Commons opposition, least their fury being once stir'd it might not so easily have been allaid again. Whereupon the Queen was sending some of the Lords, with 400 Soldiers to the City, to take a view of the peoples demeanour, but having her hands full, upon certain notice that the Earl of *March*, *Yorks* Eldest Son, and the Earl of *Warwick* with joint Forces were coming up in all haste to *London*, she departed with the King, her Husband, and Son, into the North, her only refuge, having little trust in *Essex*, less in them of *Kent*, but least of all (saith *Stow*) in the *Londoners*; so little avail'd it to have the Mayor and some of the chief Commoners on her side; (as *Fabian* intimates) when the Commonalty, i. e. the vast majority, held with the Duke of *York* and his party, wherefore, upon the Courts departure from *St. Albans*, the Earl of *March* with his *Yorkists* entered the City in *Lent*, with a great Attendance, and was joyfully received, the people resorting to him in great numbers out of *Kent*, *Essex*, and other parts, to see, aid, and assist this lusty Prince, (as the Annalist words it) in whom the hope of all their joy consisted, as soon as his coming thither was known, where he was quickly Proclaimed and acknowledged King by consent, in the beginning of *March*, and after eight or ten Battels, actually Crowned in *June* with great Royalty, and a splendid appearance of Lords and Commons, Mayor, Aldermen, and Citizens. In so high a degree did the Cities actions sway the Country, and such an advantage was it to the *Yorkists*, to have gained her over to their Party.

I need not here remark the prevalency of the Commonalty over the Temporising Mayor, and his time;

time-serving Interest, (the event plainly shewing in these particulars, *Vox Populi* to have been *Vox Celi*) because I have touched upon this string already. But this however I am warranted from History to observe, that the *Londoners*, after they had once thoroughly placed their hearts upon the House of *York*, they continued so fixt and firm to their Interest, that no shocks of Fortune, nor the Troubles and Commotions about the middle of King *Edwards* Reign, could shake the firmness of their adherence to him, so fast was he Rivetted in their Affections: nor yet the Popularity of the great Earl of *Warwick* himself, so much greater than a King, as that which makes is greater than that it makes: whose Hospitality may be supposed to have redounded so much to his own advantage, and the Interest of the *York* Family, which he had for a long time before espoused, by the favour he gained thereby among the Commons of the Realm in general, and of the City in particular: For when he came to *London*, the Analist informs us he kept such an House, that six Oxen were eaten at a Breakfast, and every Tavern was full of his Meat, and whoso had any acquaintance in his House might have had as much Sudden and Rost, as he might carry upon a long Dagger. All this notwithstanding, when upon disgust and discontent he had turned to the other side, and became a favourer of the *Lancastrians*, he was never the less disappointed in his aims and expectations from the *Londoners*. For though by his turning sides the *York* Party had been once routed, King *Edward* taken Prisoner, and King *Henry* resettled once more on the Throne, and he had in a manner the whole power of the Land in his hands, besides the general Love and Affection the Commons bore to him, and the dread and terror the sound of his Name oft struck into his Enemies Hearts, it having in effect altered the Fortune and turned the Scales in two Battels, one in King *Henry's* days for the *Yorkists*, ano-

ther in King *Edwards* for the *Lancastrians*, yet upon the return of King *Edward* from beyond Sea ( whither he had some time before escaped out of Custody ) into *England*, to recover his Inheritance, and regain his Crown, and the News of his Marching up to *London*, both sides ( saith *Baker* ) seeking to make the City their Friends, the Citizens backwardness to take up Arms in Defence of Old King *Henry*, his Crown and Dignity, and inclination to Young King *Edward*, was so apparent, that *Warwick*, own Brother, the Arch-bishop of *York*, distrusting the Event, secretly sought King *Edwards* Favour ; he himself was received into *London*, King *Henry* was redelivered unto him, and the Great *Warwick* slain not long after at *Barnet* in a pitch'd Battell, to the utter Ruin of the *Lancastrian* Party for that Age, the consequence of this overthrow being enough to read them their succeeding ill Fate at *Tewksbury* : they themselves having sufficient Cause to be daunted, with the loss of their most powerful friends and favourers, and the *Yorkists* to be flush'd with their Success in gaining so important a Victory.

As the Citizens continued thus favourable to the King, so I don't find them them chang'd and alter'd in their Inclinations to the other side, till some of the *Yorkists* themselves, by their own hands, began to loose and untye those Bonds of Amity, Friendship, and Fidelity, the Late King's Children being dispossess'd by his own Brother, the Duke of *Gloucester*, and the Earl of *Richmond*, the surviving hopes of the *Lancastrians*, had openly declar'd his Intentions, and solemnly Sworn, to marry King *Edward's* Eldest Daughter, the rightful Heir of all the *Yorkists* Greatness, which afterwards was as honourably as honestly perform'd : whereby both Families became united in one Line, and the two Roses happily inoculated each upon the other. The expression



I hope the ingenious Society of Gardiners and Florists will pardon me, if harmlessly guilty of an absurdity in translating the term from fruits to flowers.

Did the Citizens of *London* appear so zealously on the *Yorkists* behalf, and yield such powerful assistance to carry on their designs? What other than can we expect with reason, but that King *Edward* behaved himself very gratefully towards that City, which Espoused his slaughtered Fathers Cause, against even the Governing Party, and contributed so considerably to his own Restauration. Though it is but too commonly seen that as mean services are but meanly recompenced, or else wholly slighted and forgotten, so an excess of merit too great to be rewarded, brings oftner danger than advantage to the party concerned. Evident examples whereof our own and Foreign Histories can abundantly afford us, and it is well if the City of *London* could produce no experience of her own in confirmation of their verity and validity, while some others having gotten well by their services, to the facilitating their ascent into high Places, have no better improved them in the Eyes of the World, than in keeping their Coaches, their Horses, and their Misses, and made little other returns of thanks and gratitude to the City, but some small slight acknowledgments and concessions, and perhaps a few verbal promises and assurance, or else forgetting their former needs and necessities, have endeavoured, most ungratefully, to turn their power upon her, which they may be thought to have gained chiefly and principally by her means. But King *Edward* it seems, or those about him had honest Principles in them, or were better tempered: For we find in *Baker*, that he furnished his Council Table for the most part with such as were gracious among the Citizens; and we Read in *Stow* of no less than



eleven Aldermen, besides the Lord Mayor and Recorder, Knighted by him at one time in the Highway betwixt *Islington* and *Shoreditch*, upon his return from the Battel at *Tempsbury*, in reward of the good service the *Londoners* had done him. As for the jovial Entertainment of the Mayor, Aldermen, and Commons in *Waltham* Forrest, by the Kings express order and appointment, in his presence, about an year before he dyed, 'tis a Subject Treated on by more *English* Historians than one, with the circumstances and consequents thereof, the pleasant lodge of Green boughs set up on purpose for them, the Complemental condescension of the King, in refusing to go to his own Dinner till he had saw them served, the Hunting sport he shewed them, the plenty of Venison he gave them at their departure, and the noble Present of two Harts and six Bucks, with a Tun of Wine, he sent to the Lady Mayorefs, and her Sisters the Aldermens Wives, to make merry with, which they did afterwards at Drapers Hall: where without all peradventure, the Kings Health went all round the Table, if it was then in Fashion, but for this I will not put one finger in the fire.

If we dive into the reasons of the variation of the Pole at *London*, and search into the occasional Causes of the manifest change and alteration of their Affections, from the Family of *Lancaster* to the House of *York*, we may impute it partly to the losses, crosses, and unsuccessful management of Affairs, under a weak King and a self seeking Court of *Lancastrians*, but chiefly to the encrease of National grievances, without timely care taken to redress them, and the fixt Resolution of the Court Party to oppress their opposites, the *Yorkists*, any manner of ways, by right or by wrong; for we may easily observe from History and experience, such to have been the usual motives to disgusts, and the common incitements to discontent. Therefore I presume I may draw hence better grounds and reasons of the

Cities

Cities Love to King *Edward*, than those alledged by *Baker* out of *Comines*, (*viz.* that he got the Love of the *Londoners* by owing them Money, and the good will of the Citizens, by lying with their wives) as looking at first appearance too Comical and Jocular to be sound, when sifted to the bottom. Why else did this Experiment never succeed before nor since? I don't think but there have been other Princes, besides this Amorous *Yorkist*, sitting upon the *English* Throne, whose Consciences would never have boggled at borrowing Money, and then Cornuting their Creditors, if this *Recipe* could have shewn its *Probatum est*. But whatever Reasons History or Phancy suggests, this is most undeniably certain, as being matter of fact, that the City was visibly engag'd in the *Yorkists* Interest, before ever that Family could attain to the height of their desires. From whence I doubt not to conclude, that had the Citizens been otherwise inclin'd, and continued firm and fixt to the House of *Lancaster*, the Duke of *York* might indeed have laid his Claim, and pleaded Title, with many other fair-spun pretences, (as the Prerogative of Birth, Priviledge of Law, the impossibility of altering a Native Right by previous Contracts, Vows, Oaths, or Prescription, and the Injustice of breaking the Thread of an Orderly Succession) but, all this notwithstanding, he might still have remained for ought we can be sure of, far enough off from compassing his Ambitious Desires, or from the possibility of coming within view of his Journeys End, the City standing between him and the wished for Haven. The Observation is obvious from several passages foregoing. The City in it self is too great to be over-aw'd, and her influence over the Country consequently too powerful, to have it long quietly over-rul'd by any Party whatsoever, with whom she refuses to concur.

Another Observation give me leave to make *en passant*

*passant*, and that shall be upon the time and season, not of the Citizens manifesting their Affections, but of their actual appearance in behalf of the Duke and his Party. This I observe to have been, not presently and immediately in the fore-front, and the very first beginning, but upon the coming up of the *Torkists* to *London* with Swords by their sides, and resolution in their minds: So that they seem first to have been approvers, and then Seconds to the Dukes Party in their designs upon their open Declaration. Before that the Commonalty so openly and resolutely refused to let Provisions pass to the *Lancastrians* Camp at *St. Albans*, the Duke of *Tork* had declared himself in the midst of his Friends and Adherents at *London* ready to assist him, and though he was then dead, having been slain in Battle, and the *Lancastrians* so near the City at that very same time, yet his Eldest Son being in the Head of an Army in the Country, was soon come to *London*, received, Elected, approved, and set up for King by their approbation, consent, and good liking. This likewise may be observed to have been the common custom and usage of the City, as an ordinary *English* Reader may easily find in several places of this Relation upon a review, or careful recollection of what hath been before set down: or else to satisfy his Curiosity, without trusting to this Transcription, he may search after the passages himself in such Authentick Authors, as *Fabian*, *Stow*, *Speed*, *Baker*, or the like Chronicles of the *English* Affairs, which being easier met with than the Original Writers of these times, he will be put to the less trouble, upon any doubt occurring in any things here delivered for matter of Fact, in that I have chose to draw up this Treatise for the most part out of these laborious Collectors. Where it is observable that the Cities inclinations being by some one or other overt act, as manifestly declared, or else plainly perceived, or shrewdly guessed at, by the industry and vigilance

lence of the discerning Spirits of the Age, the discontented Nobles were quickly encouraged thereupon, and inclined to withdraw into the *Marches of Wales*, or the Borders of *Scotland*, and there gathering together their Party, and Raising as great Forces as time and opportunity would permit, away they come in all haste, as fast as they can, up to *London*, where being joyfully and gladly received, with great applause and approbation, the Courtiers were often compelled to fly for their safety, and the Governing Party desperse elsewhere, to try it out by dint of Sword, (at which they were commonly worsted) or else quietly yield to such conditions, as would be approved in the City, and were acceptable to the Party, the result whereof generally was the calling of a Parliament, as the desire of the Subject, though the dread and fear of the Court. But for the better illustration of this remark, I shall produce modern experience, and instance in what hath hapned within the memory of thousands yet living.

That under the late Usurpation the City was very desirous of a Free-Parliament is not to be doubted of. And yet we find she sate still quiet, and pretty well contented to outward appearance, (amidst the various changes from an Old Protector, to a New one, from that to the Rump, and thence to the Committee of Safety) as if over ridden, or like a wearied Beast, silently couching down under her heavy burthens, almost wholly insensible, and as one unconcerned. But as soon as General *Monk*, out of *Scotland*, had openly declared his dislike of the Armies extravagancies, and was come up from *Coldstream*, amidst the Visits of the Gentry, and Acclamations of the people, so near the City as *Harbrow*, we hear presently of Commissioners come thither to him from the City, and their proposing a re-admission of the Secluded Members, that the Parliament might be made full and free. This

was

was the first Publick Address I meet with looking that way, but after this we read of many from various parts of the Land, and almost all Counties of the same Nature with that from the Capital City of the Nation, as if all had been animated by the influential Rays of her Inclinations, and her Results were the superior faculties of the Soul, ove-ruling the inferior Members of the Body. But the City staid not here, for as she address'd, so she was resolv'd for a full house, before she would pay any publick Taxes. And tho' *Monk* upon stricter declar'd Resolutions put her into a great Consternation for a time, by pretending to over-aw her with his Soldiers, which was not in any wise expected at his hands, yet upon his application to her *Common-Council*, when he return'd the next day with his Army to regain their almost lost favour, (and what then might not they have done of themselves, when their amazement, sprung from the suddenness of the unexpected surprise, was abated?) they approv'd of his Intentions to have the House of Commons fill'd up, demonstrated it with Bells and Bonfires, perswaded and procured his continuance amongst them; whereby his own Security was consult'd, and those Designs most successfully carried on, which laid the way open to his present Majesties Peaceable Restauration. For this Concurrence of the City with General *Monk's* Resolutions, brought about the Restitution of the *Secluded Members*, that procured a free and fuller meeting of the Lords and Commons, and soon after the King was recall'd from his forced Exile, to the open Exercise of his Royal Power and Authority over these his Three Nations, and made his Publick Entrance in the greatest Calm of Peace and Tranquillity imaginable. Thanks to the Honourable City for concurring so unanimously to the Revival of the remaining part of the Old Parliament, which brought

brought forth so Miraculous Effects, as to have an Injur'd and Exil'd Prince fully restor'd to his Throne, and yet the Glory of the Action not tinctur'd with Blood. Such was the Influence of *Londons* concurrence, of *Londons* Power, of *Londons* Prayers.

If then the many instances hitherto related, being conjoyn'd, rise not up to a demonstration, as much Mathematical, as the subject can bear, I know not what will. As for the truth of them, I defie any one to disprove me, who hath but the least grain of sence and reason in him, and as much Historical knowledge as may amount to the sixtieth part of a scruple. The particular reasons of the Cities Potency have been shewn, and the general ground thereof is as plainly evident. For how can it otherwise be, but that a City endowed with such Royal Grants, fortified with so many and so great Privileges, and exalted to the heighth of Grandeur, by the vastness of her Trade; multitude of her Merchants, Wealth and Riches of her Inhabitants, Spirit and Courage of her Citizens, Stateliness of her Buildings, Preheminances of her Antiquity, Conveniency of her Scituation, and Regular Order of her Government, so Ennobled with the highest Courts of Judicature for the Law, adorned with numerous Churches for the Gospel, and frequented by Strangers from all parts of the habitable World, the Receptacle of all Arts and Sciences, the Haunt of the Commonalty, the Delight of the Gentry, the Habitation of the Nobility, the Residence of the King, and Glory of the whole Nation; so pleasant to Admiration; and so populous to a Wonder, where many Scores, if not Hundreds of Thousands, can be Raised and Armed in a few Hours Warning. How, I say, can it otherwise be, but that such a City must needs highly influence, over-rule and over-awe the Counsels of the Nation;

tion, and turn the Inclinations of the People whither-  
soever she please? For Nature generally uses the com-  
mon ordinary means and methods, and I do not see  
that the All-powerful God of Nature often diverts  
her Course, or works Wonders and Miracles in eve-  
ry Age and Season: Now that *London* is such a Ci-  
ty, I appeal to History and Experience for my Wit-  
nesses.

These are the Observations I had to make concern-  
ing the Glories of the City of *London* and the Influences  
she had upon the grand Concerns of the Nation, in  
that great and famous Contest between the two Houses  
of *Lancaster* and *York*, (through the most considerable  
part whereof I have hitherto traced her Actions)   
wherein finding her most triumphant, amidst the great  
variety of the publick Transactions of these times, I  
think it not much material to give so distinct a Relation  
of her private Affairs, though among them I might  
likewise find many things most worthy of Remark,  
as hastening apace towards the Conclusion of this  
Treatise, that it may not swell into too great a bulk,  
to the Reader's Discouragement, and the wearying  
out of his Patience, I fear, already almost tired.  
Wherefore, as to what concerns the private Troubles  
of the City, the Tumults, Riots and Insurrections sprung  
up out of her own Bowels in these perilous Times,  
and happily suppress'd by the Power of her Majestrates,  
and the accidental Casualties happening within her  
Liberties: or else the many Benefits accruing to her,  
by the Care and Vigilance of her chief Officers, the  
good Rule and Order of her Government, the strict  
Observation of her particular Ordinances, and put-  
ting in Execution her Injunctions: Or as to what re-  
lates to the external Augmentation of her Honour,  
her Splendor and Renown, by the Reparation of her  
Walls, Renovation of her publick Structures, found-  
ing and erecting of new Fabricks, I pass them all over  
without



Without a more particular mention, ( sending the curious and inquisitive to the Chronicles, *Baker's* especially, who hath treated purposely of such remarkables in distinct Sections, at the end of the *Kings Lives*) as not so pertinent to my present design, tho' in other *Kings Reigns* I may have here and there touch'd upon some such Remarks : And shall direct the Reader with an Instance of the Courage of some bold spirited women of the City, having hitherto entertain'd him with the Heroick and Illustrious Acts only of the other Sex. The Relation I have out of *Stow*, who places it in the Seventh of King *Henry* the Sixth, *Anno 1428.* where, after mention made of a Parliament Assembled at *Westminster* that Year, he gives it us in these words.

' In this Parliament there was one Mrs. *Stokes*, with  
' divers other stout Women of *London*, of good recko-  
' ning, well Apparell'd, came openly to the upper-  
' house of Parliament, and deliver'd Letters to the  
' Duke of *Gloucester*, and to the Arch-Bishops, and to  
' the other Lords there present, containing matter of  
' Rebuke, and sharp reprehension of the Duke of  
' *Gloucester*, because he would not deliver his Wife  
' *Jaqueline* out of her grievous Imprisonment ; being  
' then held Prisoner by the Duke of *Burgundy*, sut-  
' fering her thereto remain so unkindly, and for his  
' publick keeping by him another Adulteress, contrary  
' to the Law of God, and the honourable Estate of  
' Matrimony. Bold words and bold women. For  
this Duke was then Lord Protector of the Realm,  
and so consequently of great Power, Place, and Digni-  
ty therein. But these were *Londoners* that durst be so  
courageous, as to say, to Princes, *Ye are Wicked*, and  
then the wonder is not altogether so great, on one  
hand, that they dar'd to reprehend the great ones of  
the Age, and on the other, that we still find such  
Heroical Spirits in the City, since they spring from  
such a Race both by the Fathers side, and the  
Mothers.



Mothers. The *Roman* Historians celebrates the Memory of that Noble Matron, who came into open Court, and with so undaunted a spirit of boldness, pleaded her own Cause, to the great amazement of the Senate for the present, that they made an Order to forbid the like for the future. What Viragoes then were these *English* Matrons of *London*, that in open Parliament durst reprove the Nobles to their faces, and were not afraid to attempt to teach our Senators wisdom? wherein they may seem to have out-did that fam'd *Roman* Matron, in that what she did may be thought to have proceeded from self-love and self-defence, whereas these with a greater Courage espous'd another Cause, an excess of Charity and Humanity, and, instead of staying for an opportunity of defending their own Interest upon occasion or necessity, durst voluntarily make an onset on the more powerful with sharp rebukes, for neglecting the distressed, and refusing to assist the poor, weak, and disconsolate. So that the Royal City of *London* appears emulous of the Old Imperial City of *Rome*, both in the Courage of the Women, and valour of her men: as if resolved not to yield to her Fame on any account in Glory and Merit, nor come behind her in the Heroick Acts of either of the Sexes, while one continues as potent in the *Brittish* World, by the Spirit of the Citizens and influence of her Actions, as the other once was famous for her Arms all over *Europe*, *Asia* and *Africa*. And who knows whitherto she may come in time, as how far the Fates, or rather Providence, have decreed to advance her? Was she so powerful so many Ages since, what is she now, since that she's very much encreased in the Strength and Number of her Inhabitants, and her private Buildings are reform'd from Wood and Earth into Brick, and publick into Stone, low humble Cottages into stately Edifices, and who dares be so positive to aver, that they may not in time, be chang'd into Marble?

Hitherto

Hitherto have I treated the *Reader* with variety of Proofs and Evidences sufficiently (I hope) demonstrative of the Repute, Fame, Honour, Glory, and Renown, Magnificence, Grandeur, Strength, Power and Influence of this so *Triumphant a City*, whose Approbation and Assistance, hath settled Kings upon their Thrones, and the dissatisfaction of whose Inhabitants hath sometimes left the way open to the ruine of Princes; In the Examples and Instances whereof, the Concurrence of her Citizens was, for the most part, general and universal, at least so far as concern'd the *Majority*. But now I shall produce an Instance (and not easie perhaps to be parallell'd, from either Divine or prophane Writings,) to shew, how influential the bare shadow of her Name hath been in State-Affairs, and how contributory to the transforming of a Subject into a King, without any apparent assent of the Main Body of this ancient Corporation; which I am so far from thinking a diminution of her Glory, that I rather look upon it, as here circumstantiated, to be an Argument of the City's great Power, Reputation, and Esteem, under this Consideration;

That if that aspiring Protector, the bloody Duke of *Gloucester*, better known by the Name of *Crook-back'd Richard the Third*, could do so much by the shadow, what might he not have done, could he have but enjoyed the substance? As in Divinity, Circumstances make many an Action good or bad: so in History, the Design and Event not seldom ennobles or debases an Enterprize. 'Tis not so much the bare Act, or thing done, in this particular, that is to make good my Assertion, as the Deduction from the Consequences thereof, whether real or designed, which come now to be related in this manner following:

Y

When

When that ambitious, Crook-back'd *Duke*, upon his Brother's Death, had got his eldest Son and Heir, and the rightful King, into his hands, and by treacherous Plots, devis'd Crimes, and false Calumniation, taken away the Lives of those true and trusty Friends of the old King, that were most likely to continue faithful to his young Son and Heir in his Minority, and loyally stand by him with their Lives and Fortunes, against the open Attempts or secret Designs of his Treacherous Uncle, and thereby remov'd many of the Rubs out of the way to his aspir'd greatness. His next Care was to get the Peoples Consent to the turning of his Ducal Corro-net into a Regal Crown, and their Concurrence to acknowledge him for their King, whereas before he was but Protector. But how should this be done? A Pretence must be found to cajole them, seeing that he had so little Equity and Justice on his side to confirm them to him. The City of *London* was known to be powerful and populous, and their Example was thought to do much with the rest of the Nation, to make them, if not approve, at least connive at his Nephew's Deposition, and his own Exaltation, therefore the Citizens were to be Caress'd, and their Approbation to be sought. Whereupon he seeks for and procures Instruments fit for his turn, that, to honour his ambitious Designs, stuck not openly to turn *Renegado's* to Truth, Honesty and Loyalty, so that they might get Worldly Honour and Preferment thereby. Among whom none of the less noted, nor least useful, are reckon'd the present Lord Mayor of *London*, (a Man of a proud Heart, and highly desirous of Advancement, how little soever he deserv'd it) and two *brazen-fac'd* Sons of the Church, both great Preachers, of more Learning than Virtue, of more

Fame

Fame than Learning. So useful hath the Pulpit in the Church been always thought to carry on Intrigues in the State. The Contrivance was first to prepare the People and break the Matter at *Paul's-Cross*, and then Motion it to the Citizens at *Guild-hall*, to accomplish which, and bring his purpose to perfection, the Duke cared not, so his dead Father were thought, or call'd, a Cuckold; his Mother, a Whore; his Brethren, Bastards; and his Nephew, illegitimate; to the shame of the whole House of *Tork*, such Fires of Ambition rul'd and rag'd in his Heart. The flattering Clergy-men readily did their Parts in the Pulpit, as far as they were able, but with so ill success to the Duke's Cause, and their own Reputation, that he was wholly disappointed of the desir'd Acclamations, and they lost their Credit and Estimation among the People ever after. One lost his *Life* after his Sermon, the other his *Voice* in the midst of his Preaching, and so was forc'd to leave off and come down.

From *Paul's Cross* away go we, the *Tuesday* following the Doctor's Sermon, to *Guild-hall*, and there we find the Mayor upon the *Hustings*, and all the Aldermen assembled about him, and the Com-mons of the City gather'd before them. To whom the Duke of *Buckingham*, newly come thither, attended with divers Lords and Knights from the Court, makes a long and large Oration about the Grievances under the late King, his many unnecessary Taxations, great Severities, and the looseness of his Life, (to cast dirt thus upon the late King's Government, was thought then, it seems, an effectual Means, to make way for this *Papish Successor*) reminds them of the Doctor's Sermon, and desires them to joyn with him, and others, in a Petition to the Duke, to take upon him the Name and Office

of a King, hoping by his many Arguments and Perswasions, with the volubility of his Tongue, to obtain the Citizens Concurrence in a full Cry of of King *Richard*, King *Richard*. But they were, it seems by the story, very deaf of hearing on that Ear, to his no little wonder and amazement. Wherefore, upon further consultation with the Mayor and others privy to the Design, *Buckingham* resumes his Discourse, and rehearles the same over again with a louder Voice, as if the Citizens had not all heard, or not well understood the meaning of his former Speech. But neither did this move their Affections, nor produce a Word in favour of the Motion from the Auditors. Then Mr. Recorder, by the Mayor's Advice, was pitch'd upon to second the Duke, upon hopes that it might be better accepted from him, as the publick Mouth of the City. Full loth, we may well think, was he, an honest Man, and newly come to his Honour and Preferment, having never spoken to the Citizens before from that place, to begin upon so harsh and unpleasing a Subject. But however the Mayor's Commands must be obey'd. He therefore makes a Rehearfal of the Duke's Words, but so far from being transpos'd, alter'd, or augmented, that he plainly shew'd what he did was in Obedience to the Lord Mayor's Commands, not out of affection or good will to the Cause, or the Duke. What then could it avail the Mayor and his Party, that Mr. Recorder was compell'd to be their Mouth, when 'tis plain from his Speech, that he spoke others Sentiments, not his own? And this was easily perceiv'd on all hands. For the Citizens stood still as mute as Fishes, or deaf as Adders, that would not hearken to the Voice of the Charmer, nor tune their Pipes to the Song of a base flattering Courtier. Well then, confer

they could get none? Hitherto not a word of approbation, what must be done next? Why? when we despair of Citizens Words and Wishes, we'll e'en pretend to reject them, as useless and unnecessary, seeing they will not be model'd to our minds. And therefore at last the Citizens are plainly told, that all the Nobles of the Realm are resolv'd already upon the Point, (a thing as true, as the Mayor was Honest, or the Duke Loyal) and their ultimate Answer was demanded. Upon which follow'd secret Whisperings, and a confused Bur, among the People, till at last some of the Duke's Servants, and others of their procuring, (Prentices, and other Lads, thrust into the Hall among the Press) set up their Notes at the lower end, threw up their Caps in token of Joy, and loudly cry out upon King *Richard*. This the Duke and Mayor, seeing they could have not better, take advantage of, and would have it forsooth pass for an unanimous Consent, and the universal Approbation of the City, though the whole multitude of Citizens answer'd them not a word, only cast back their heads, and marvelled what those meant behind them, with their whoopings and howlings. A goodly Cry, quoth the Duke, and thanks them, and so departs.

The next News we hear is of a Petition immediately made, the Morrow after, to the Protector at *Baynard's* Castle, to take upon him the Rule and Government of the Realm, as rightful King, to which, with much ado and intreaty, (poor Man!) he at last yielded, as if altogether compell'd, through meer necessity, and others importunity, the Duke of *Buckingham* coming in the Name of himself, the Lord Mayor and his Brethren, as indeed we find them there amongst others, to see this notorious piece of dissimulation acted over. So slips this dissembling *Torkist*

into the Throne, over his young Nephew's head (whom afterwards he cruelly caus'd to be murder'd) is Crowned, and Reigns as King for a time, the Holla's and Huzza's of a few Courtiers and Prettices being impos'd upon the Nation, for the Universal Consent of the City of *London*, though the Duke's Party could not obtain so much as that Complement from the Citizens themselves. Seeing therefore they could not embrace the Substance, they were resolv'd, I would say, to grasp at the Shadow, were I sure the Criticks would not Censure the Expression. For being not able to prevail upon the Masters, they endeavour'd to try Experiments on the Apprentices, and failing of the Majority of the Men, are content to be playing with the Boys: And if this now may be call'd the Concurrence of the City, 'tis easie doubtless to be had at any time with Feasting and Fudling. Let the distrustful, or evil thinking person, consult Mr. *Stow*, about the Life and Reign of King *Edward* the Fifth, and then he may see Authority enough for the precedent Relation.

Thus we see the Duke is mounted at last up into the Saddle, and from a Protector, that might have been legal, he becomes a King most unlawfully, by very unjust Means and indirect Methods, by defrauding his poor innocent Nephew of his Birth-right, and afterwards depriving him of his Life, aspersing his own Mother with Adultery, imputing Bastardy to his Brethren, and bringing a dishonourable Reflection upon his Father. But can we think such an ill-gotten Crown could ever prosper with him? No sure: 'Twas improbable, and impossible. The Furies are stirr'd up to torment him, for Providence sleeps not, nor could Vengeance lag long behind. The City never gave her  
full

full consent, notwithstanding all the endeavours of that false Knave her Mayor, therefore she had reason and occasion enough for the deepest Resentments, to see her Name without her Authority basely abus'd by Treachery and Deceit, to promote other Mens corrupt Designs, and the Duke so lately transpos'd into a King, sufficient Grounds for continual Fears, Jealousies and Suspicions, about the fickleness and unsettledness of his own State and Condition, being so insecure and uncertain of the City's hearty good will and affections, as knowing the Cheat he had newly put upon the Nation, and the Affront he had offered to the whole Body of the Citizens, in making use of their Names without their Consent and Concurrence, to settle himself in his intended Usurpation. *Bosworth-field* also is drawing nigh a pace, where he shall be forc'd to pay Nature her last Debt, Justice shall have her due, and a full period shall be put to all his villainous Acts and Enterprizes, after a short Reign or Usurpation of two Years, two Months, and a Day or two, the shortest Term by far of any Kings Reign since the first *William*, unless we admit *Edward* the Fifth, for Method and Customes sake, into the Number of our Kings, who for Ten Weeks space bore the Name, though it may be more properly call'd the Tyranny of the Duke, than the Reign of the King.

Enter next the Earl of *Richmond*, a *Lancastrian*, (a Family directly opposite to the House of *Tork*, till now in Combination against Crook-back *Richard*, that did endeavour to destroy them all, and on a design of a union of both Interests, in the persons of the Heirs on both sides) with a few Friends and foreign Mercenaries, at *Milford-Haven* in *Wales*, and the hopes of a considerable Number of Auxilia-



ries ready to joyn and assist him in his March up directly towards the City of *London*. For this seems to have been his main aim, and intended purpose, from his Letters sent to his Friends, to come in with all speed to his Assistance, as in whose Affections doubtless he put much trust and confidence; neither was he deceiv'd therein, in that, after his successful Victory over his Enemies at *Bosworth*, (where we date the first beginning of his Reign, under the Name of *Henry the Seventh*) upon his remove towards *London*, and his near approach to the City, we find the City so far from the least shadow of opposition, that on the contrary, they prepar'd to receive him with Demonstrations of great Joy and Gladness, for his safe and happy arrival there. The Habit of the Mayor, Aldermen, and Citizens, were either Scarlet or Violet, and his Reception was in great State and Pomp, they meeting him in orderly Array without the City, and so conveying him through it to *St. Pauls*. Neither may we think him insensible of their Favours, if *Baker* records the truth, as indeed I am not able on any good grounds to contradict him, when he says, that the City of *London* was this King's Paradise, nor probably confute the Reasons he gives for his Assertion, viz. That what good Fortune soever beset him, he thought he enjoy'd it not, till he acquainted them with it. And can we fancy he had not good Grounds and Inducements, for this honourable Acknowledgment of their Kindness and Goodness shewn him by them, besides the first Expressions thereof in the beginning of his Reign, when he was so far from being well warm'd in his Seat, that he was not yet enter'd upon the Throne by the Solemnity of a Coronation, nor had taken possession of the Government with the usual Ceremonies and customary Formalities?

Cer-

Certain it is, that I read in *Fabian*, Sheriff of *London* in his days, that he had considerable Sums of Money of the City, more than once, twice, or thrice, an Assistance as requisite often times, as Men in Arms, and not seldom more difficult for Princes to obtain: There being idle men enough generally at all times ready to come in at the Sound of Trumpet or Drum, if there be but an Assurance or Probability of good Pay: which to compass, is commonly a difficulty not so easily surmounted, even by great Kings and Princes, so scarce a Commodity is Gold and Silver Coin. Neither do I find the City at any time complaining, or opposing, or joyning with his Enemies: For notwithstanding his settlement on the Throne, and his uniting the two Families into one, by marrying *Edward* the Fourth's eldest Daughter, he had a *Lambert* and a *Perkin* to disturb his Quiet and Repose, about Title. A Favour therefore doubtless this was not inconsiderable in those days. For the City of *London* is known to have been able to do much, had she been so inclined. Whereof we may well believe the King was very sensible, and so were the opposers of his peaceable tranquility, were it only from this consideration, that when, in the Second of his Reign, it was bleer'd about by his Enemies, that the Earl of *Warwick*, *George*, Duke of *Clarences* Son, was escap'd out of the Tower, and a counterfeited Earl was provided to act the part of the true one, to draw People to their Assistance, (which might have created no little trouble to the King, and greatly endanger'd his Person and Dignity) to disappoint and frustrate their Designs, and fully lay open the Cheat, of all Parties and Places of his Kingdom, he chose *London*, to shew therein the right Earl of *Warwick* to the People, though the principal Scene of

of those Affairs were then laid in *Ireland*: And the other side appear'd so fearful of the Effect thereof upon the *Londoners*, and their Influence doubtless upon the rest of the Nation, even *Ireland* it self, though so far distant, that to buoy up the Spirits of their own Party, they thought it most effectual to report about the Island, that that was a Counterfeit purposely train'd and taught by King *Henry*, and shew'd by him in *London*, to blind the Eyes of the Simple and Ignorant. So solicitous were both to encrease the number of their Adherents, and draw the People of the Land to a belief of the honesty and sincerity of their Intentions, and Equity of their Actions, among whom the City of *London* is certainly the greatest Body, fitly joyn'd together by good Laws and Constitutions, greatly confirm'd by an orderly succession of her Magistrates, and much strengthened by a long and large train of continual Successes. But the City continued fix to the King's Interest, and therefore the others Devices and Pretences work'd little or nothing upon the Citizens. They were rather ready to rejoyce on all occasions for his victorious Success, than prone to take part with his Enemies against him, whereof they gave him sufficient Testimonies at several times and seasons, when they had opportunity to express their Affections, in a more free and open way, at such glorious Solemnities, as Coronations, Installations, publick Receptions, and Royal and Princely Marriages.

'Tis confess'd, that, towards the latter end of this King's Reign, some of her principal Officers, her Mayors and Sheriffs, were sore troubled and vext in the King's Courts, and large Sums of Money demanded of them, for things pretended to be done by them illegally in their Offices, and such of them

im-

imprison'd, as refus'd to pay those Arbitrary Fines, as may be seen in *Stow's Annals*; but these were Troubles only of particular Men, and common also to many others of the King's Subjects, when *Empson* and *Dudley* were got into Authority, and, to humour the old King's covetous itch after Riches, (a Vice incident mostly to Old Age) reviv'd old forgotten Laws, and rais'd large Sums of Money upon Offences against Penal Statutes; wherein they acted so exorbitantly, and took such arbitrary, illegal and unjust Ways, (many whereof *Baker* reckons up in his Chronicle) to compass their Ends, that they themselves at length were become the principal Grievances of the Nation, and suffered accordingly in the beginning of the next King's Reign, both of them by the hands of Justice, being made to pay their Heads for satisfaction to the People, and their Promoters most shamefully Pillory'd and Imprison'd. So little did it avail them, to pretend they put the Laws in Execution, or to call themselves the King's Promoters or Informers. King *Henry* the Eighth, as soon as he came to the Crown, more regarding the Commons Cry, and the Complaints of his People, than he valued the pretended Loyalty of such profligate Villains, as had no other way to pick up a Livelihood, than by raking it out of other Mens Miseries and Troubles.

This Prince in his youth was so much addicted to Pleasures, and Pastimes, fine Sights and Shews, Masks, Jufts, and Tournaments, and in his elder years to Cruelty and Tyrannical Oppression, that one might be apt to expect, and perhaps with some colour of reason, that little was to be found in *London*, in the beginning of this King's Reign, but Jollity, Joy, and Rejoycing, gaudy Shews,  
and

and pleasing Objects, delightful to the Eye, and grateful to Sense, a King's Example commonly drawing along with it his Subjects Imitation; and that in the latter end, scarce any durst presume, to make opposition to a Man of so domineering a Spirit, as, by his own death-bed Confession, never spar'd Woman in his Lust, nor Man in his Anger: And yet notwithstanding we meet with, under this Prince, Instances of the City's Power, Boldness, and undaunted Resolution, and of the King's Favour to the Citizens.

The last may haply be concluded, even from the Effects of evil *May-day*, when we read of the King's pardoning the many hundreds Indicted for that day's Riot and Insurrection, at the three Queens intercession, upon Cardinal *Woolsey's* Advice, and perchance in Complaisance to the City. Not to mention that eminent Instance, of the King's Charity, Love, and Affection to the City, when, in so great a scarcity of Bread therein, that many died for meer want, he freely and frankly sent thither, out of his own Provisions, 600 Quarters of Corn, which serv'd for a very seasonable Supply, till more could be brought from other Parts. But as to the former, I dare aver it from the consequence of the Contest, between the City and the Cardinal, in the 17th year of this King, out of *Scorn*, and thence prove, beyond denial, how like her self the City always continued, in opposing the Arbitrary Power and Exorbitances of over grown Favourites.

Commissions were sent forth, by Order of the Council, into every Shire, to Levy the Sixth Part of every Man's Substance, towards the King's passage into *France*, but this was so vehemently oppos'd by the People, as contrary to ancient Laws and Customs, and not granted by the Parliament,

that

that the King thought good to deny, that he ever knew of that Demand, and, by soothing Letters, sent to *London* and elsewhere, he requested only his Subjects Benevolence. This was a Term more plausible, than a set Demand, and a fix'd Contribution, and the Cardinal forsooth would needs undertake personally to induce the City's consent thereto, and therefore sent for the Mayor, the Aldermen, and the most substantial Common-Council-men, to *Westminster*, thinking by fair Speeches, good Words, and large Promises, to have overperswaded them. To him indeed they lent their Ears, but we don't find them over hasty to part with their Purses. However they sent Deputies to him, Four Aldermen and Twelve Commoners, to return him their thanks, and every Alderman assembles his Ward, and makes a Motion for a Benevolence, which was openly deny'd them by the Commonalty. Then the Cardinal sends again for the Mayor, and his Brethren, who informs him what they had done. Whereupon he would have examined them apart, and demands a benevolence of them in the King's Name: But for Answer, was told, by a City Councillor, that the Motion was against an Act of Parliament, which could not be disprov'd, though it was in part gain-said. Thereupon the Mayor resolutely denies to grant any thing; so that upon his coming home to *London*, all publick endeavours were laid by, and it was declar'd, that every man should come to the Cardinal, and grant privily what he would. This was so little grateful to the Citizens, and upon the Mayor's endeavours to qualify them, by promising they should be gently treated, and exhorting them to go when sent for, they were so highly offended thereat, that in their  
fury,

fury, they would have had several expell'd the Common-Council, and so without further answer, angrily departed home. Whereby we may be well assur'd of the truth of *Hall's* Observation, that though the Mayor and Aldermen had granted the Demand, the Common-Council would never have assented; For we must know, this was done at the Common-Council call'd the next day after my Lord Mayor came from Court. The Result therefore of all was in the Issue, that the King openly protests, in a great Council, call'd at *York-place*, now *White-hall*, that his mind was never to ask any thing of his Commons, that might sound to the breach of the Laws, and so this Project was rejected, and laid aside, by order of the Kings Letter sent into all Counties. For seeing that the City refused, how was it possible to perswade the Country, who look upon *London* as their principal Guide and Directress, and so generally square their Actions by the Citizens Rule? Doth not then this seem a clear Example of the *Londoners* constant fixedness to their old Principles of Liberty? And if the Reader likewise please, it may pass for an Instance of the Citizens disclaiming their Mayor's Resolves, and the prevalency of the Commonalty over the Magistracy, when resolute in their just opposition.

As an Overplus, I shall cast in a Passage out of *Baker's* Chronicles, where we find it upon Record, under the Title of King *Henry's* Taxations, how that, when in the Fourteenth Year, a Tenth Part of all Mens Substance was required by the Cardinal, towards the Charges of the King's Wars, and he would have had every Man  
sworn

sworn to tell what he was worth. The *Londoners* thinking this very hard, they were thereupon excus'd for taking the Oath, and allowed to bring in their Bills upon their Honesties: from whence may be argued, either the Strength, Greatness and Power of this honourable City, whom the Court, nor the Cardinal, durst not displease, or the great respect then shewn her, in regard of those many glorious Rays of Influence she sheds all over all the Land, when the Word of a Citizen went as far, and was as well accepted, as another Man's Oath.

If such then was the Honour and Respect of the City heretofore, what may we think it to be, now that *London* hath since receiv'd so considerable an Addition, and Augmentation, in several respects, by the happy concurrence of many more Circumstances to render it eternally famous.

Was this City able to hold a Contest with so grand a Favourite and potent a Courtier, as Cardinal *Woolsey*, and at last to come off with flying Colours, to the vindicating her own Rights, and the Liberties of all the Nation besides, and the forcing King *Henry* in the strength of his Age, as stout as he was, to so great a Compliance, as hath been hinted before? 'Tis plain then, she was strong, and her Citizens not destitute of Spirit. Did the King, as cruel as he was to others of his Subjects, shew himself favourable to *London*? 'Tis evident, he had great cause and reason so to do, unless he was desirous to be tax'd with ingratitude, so un-Prince-like a Crime. For we may observe



observe the Citizens were ready enough to please him in any thing, wherein their All was not concerned, and in that I never yet found them ever prone to humour the Follies of any King living. Witness their readiness on all Occasions for the Honour of the King, to appear in the most splendid Equipage on publick Solemnities.

Among which, the most remarkable, in my Opinion, were the Coronation of Queen *Ann*, Mother of the never to be forgotten Queen *Elizabeth*, of blessed Memory, with the Preparatives thereto, the Celebrity of her Attendance by Water, from *Greenwich* to the *Tower*, and her honourable Conveyance from thence through the City, amidst the great variety of pleasing Shews, and delightful Objects, to *Westminster*, particulariz'd in *Stow*, and the glorious appearance of the Citizens, at the great Muster in *St. James's Park*, *May* the 8th, *Anno* 31. to the Number of Fifteen Thousand, in bright shining Armour, with Coats of white Silk or Cloth, and Chains of Gold, where the Citizens strove in such sort to exceed each other in bravery of Arms, and forwardness of Service, as if the City had been a Camp, and they not Men of the Gown, but all profess'd Soldiers, which they perform'd to their great Cost, but greater Commendation, saith *Sir Richard Baker*. But the greatest Inducement may be supposed to have been, that they never appear'd prone to join with the King's Enemies, of which he had good store abroad, besides Domestick Troubles and private Insurrections at home, especially towards the latter end of his Reign, when he had taken away the Pope's Supremacy, excluded his

his Authority, and suppressed the Abbies and Monasteries, the chief Fortresses and Pillars thereof, either by force of an Act of Parliament, or by vertue of the Resignations of their Governours, either over-aw'd by fear, or brib'd with Pensions: Not long after which there were several Commotions in the Land, which might have much shaken the Throne, had the Citizens openly shew'd any inclination to joyn with these disturbers of the Kings rest and repose, but they continuing quiet, these troubles were quickly compos'd, and so the foundation, undesignedly doubtless, was laid for a publick Reformation, which was more vigorously carried on in the next Kings Reign, though I hardly think it hath yet arriv'd to such perfection, as to render it so compleat, as might be piously desired.

Short was the Reign of this pious Prince *Edward* the sixth, yet not so short, but that it gave such an Addition of strength to the Protestant Religion, by removing out of the way many of the Relicks of Popery, and openly encouraging the Preaching of the Gospel, that hitherto it could never be rooted out of the Land, notwithstanding the damage it sustained under the next Successor, a most violent and rigid Papist, and the many secret Plots and practices of Popish Emissaries, to undermine it, and introduce Popery again into *England*, prov'd upon them.

Thus was the outward face of Religion visibly chang'd in the City, under this Religious King, but yet her power we find not in the least diminished, nor the esteem our great men had thereof, of which we meet with an evident instance in History, on account of the difference arisen between the potent Earl of *Warwick*, and some of the Privy Council, on the one hand, and the Lord Protector *Seymour*, the Kings Maternal Uncle, on the other.

The Privy Counsellors, having designs upon the Protector, and withdrawing themselves from Court, got to *London* with their attendance, and taking possession of the Tower, made it their business to secure the City to their side, by sending for the Lord Mayor and Aldermen to *Ely* house in *Holborn*, where they were assembled, and entertaining them with a long Oration, about the ill government of the Protector, and the many mischiefs, that came thereby (as they affirm'd) upon the Kingdom, attended with a request of their joynt assistance, to help them to remove him, wherein they were so successful, that, upon the arrival of two Letters almost at the same instant to the Common Council held at *Guildhall*, one from the King and Lord Protector for a thousand of the City to be arm'd in defence of the Kings Person, and the other from the Lords to have two thousand men to aid them, with the same Plea, for defence of the Kings Person, and that the City should be well kept with Watches day and night, the Citizens shew'd themselves so inclinable to the Lords, that they arm'd an hundred horse men, and four hundred foot men, in defence of the City, suitable to the motion of the Lords, and sent no Assistance to the Protector, though it had been desir'd in the Kings Name, but rather suffered a Proclamation, containing diverse Articles against him, to be made in several Parts of the City, and the Lords were entertain'd with a Dinner at one of the Sheriffs, the eighth of *October*, after they had been themselves in Person at *Guildhall*, and on the tenth they din'd at the other Sheriffs; after that by a Common Council the same day, in *Stoms* Computation, five hundred men of the City had been granted to be ready on the next morning. Evident marks, signs, and tokens doubtless which way the City bended, and

and the event is a sufficient confirmation thereof. For the next News, we hear, is the removal of the Protector from about the King, and the sending him to the Tower, within two or three days after, where an humble Confession and Submission was his best security for that time, by which he got his Liberty some time after, and was sworn again a Privy Counsellor, but no more a Protector.

Had the City sent him the Aid requested, he would possibly have had little reason to have stood in fear of the combined Lords, or had but her Magistrates continued Neuters in the Case, and not been so openly favourable to his Enemies, he might perhaps have been able enough to have cop'd with them, with little or no hazard, for he had raised much People about *Hampton Court* in the Kings Name, and conveyed him to *Windsor* with a great number of Horsemen and Footmen; But the Strength and Authority of the City was not to be contradicted, much less opposed. Thus the Protector lost his Place, and well it might have been haply for the King and Nation, if that had been all. For his Enemies having remov'd him from his Protectorship, and thereby gain'd the greater access of Power to themselves, and the Principal of them the politick Earl of *Warwick*, lately created Duke of *Northumberland*, advanced in Title and Honour equal with, and in Authority and Power above the highest, whereby his aspiring thoughts were grown ripe to be put in execution, they were resolv'd to have the other touch with him for his Life, wherein they made use of the Cities Power to secure them for his Tryal, by ordering every Housholder in *London* to take care of his own Family, keep his house, and have one ready in

arms upon call for the day time, and that by Night a sufficient Watch of substantial Housholders should be kept in every Ward. So litte durst they attempt without ingaging the City therein, and so frail and transitory had been their projecting designs, had she refused. But with her concurrence what could they not do? So then at last tryed the late Protector was, acquitted of Treason, and condemned for Felony, and afterwards beheaded on *Tower-Hill*, much against the Kings Will, the Constables of every Ward in *London* ( by vertue of a Precept directed from the Council to the Lord Mayor ) strictly charging the Citizens not to stir out of their houses before a prefixt hour, for fear perhaps of a Rescue, for 'twas known he was well belov'd generally by the People, and plainly evidenced, when, upon a mistake thinking him acquitted, they gave so great a shout for joy, that it was heard ( *Stow* tells us ) from *Westminster-Hall* to *Long-Arce*, to the Lords astonishment. So fell *Sommerfet* by the malice of his Enemies and weakness of his Friends; and we may easily believe 'twas not design'd the King should be long liv'd, if some could prevent it, For they, that shot off his good Uncle's Head, would hardly stick at attempting secretly upon his health and security, who otherwise might have liv'd to avenge the Protectors Death.

But the chief Projector *Northumberland* had but little joy of his ambitious designs, though King *Edward* was dead and he had got his two Sisters put by, and the Lady *Jane* his Daughter in Law proclaimed Queen of the Realm, by sound of Trumpet, through *London*. For when he might have thought himself most secure, then was he most disappointed, and he, that could do so much in the City with the Magistracy, either for fear or love,  
quickly

quickly lost that branch of his Power, when he was gone from the City, though at the head of an Army, and thereby, in effect, his Life. The same Mayor who had before consented in appearance to secure the City for the Lady *Jane*, a little after, upon a motion from the Council, going straight ways and proclaiming the Lady *Mary Queen*: And then she was quickly acknowledged for such all over the Land. So that here we see two Queens proclaimed in *London* within a very short space of time; but she, who was last proclaimed and the Citizens stuck to, continued Queen, and the other was laid by as useless, and afterwards brought to the Block as a guilty Criminal. Had the City stuck to the first, the other probable had still been counted the Offendor, and might perhaps have suffered accordingly: But the Stream was turn'd with the Tide, and it was hard rowing against the Current. Queen *Mary* at first had addressed her self by Letter to the Lord Mayor to proclaim her, and the Cities affections may be thought inclinable from the beginning unto her, be it only from *Northumberland's* expression of his thoughts to the Lord *Gray*, in his passage through *Shoreditch* with his Army against her and her Forces, who observed that the People pressed to see them, but could not hear one that bid them Gods speed. Is it so considerable to have the Voice of the Citizens, how much more than their Hearts? Thus came in Queen *Mary*, and with her Popery upon the Protestants shoulders. For the *Suffolk* men were the first, that espous'd her Interest, upon Condition, that she would make no alteration in Religion, which she then most readily promised, but kept it afterwards like a Papist, *i. e.* broke it; and 'tis somewhere observed, that many more of that Country suffered for Religion in the

*Marian Persecution*, than of any other. So futable she acted to that avow'd Principle of her own Religion, that no faith is to be kept with Hereticks, a position publickly authorized by the Council of *Constance*, and often since confirmed by many undeniable Instances and Examples. But 'twas well for her that the City of *London* ( whose concurrence with the rest of the Nation first mounted her up into the Throne, and from whose Citizens she received so great respect the day before her Coronation by costly Pageants, those dumb shews, of respect and other honorary expressions of their affections ) continued firm in their Allegiance, otherwise she might perchance have paid dear enough for the breach of her promise upon Sir *Thomas Wyatts* insurrection. For could he but have got into the City, either by the *Bridge* or by *Ludgate*, how much of his purpose he might have brought to effect, is easier to be guessed, than declared in so uncertain a matter. But he was repulsed at both places, and deceived in his expectations and hopes of aid from *London*, he himself was taken, his party routed, and all his designs vanished into smoak, to the loss of his own life and ruin of many of his principal Friends and Followers. So unsuccessful is an enterprize ( on what grounds soever and appearing likelyhood of success at first undertaken ) wherein the *Londoners* refuse to ingage themselves; whereas had but the City joyn'd her Forces to *Wyatts*, let him in within her Walls, and not stood firm to the Queens Interest, he might perhaps have been able to have commanded what Conditions he pleased. Of this we may well believe the Queen and Court were extremely sensible. For we find the Queen herself, her Lords, and her Ladies, came from *Westminster* to *Guildhall*, where the Commons of the City were assembled in their Liveries, before

before *Wyat* drew near to the City, and by fair words and promises endeavour'd to confirm the Citizens minds, and satisfie them of the sincerity of her own intentions, and the insolent behaviour of her Enemies: Which I think was no more than the case required, and the necessity of her affairs obliged her to for her own security. The five hundred Men, which the City, at the Lord Treasurers request, had sent out ready Arm'd to oppose that insurrection, having turn'd to the other side at the perswasion of their Captain and Leader, and there being so great a Consternation at *Westminster* upon *Wyats* approach, that the Serjeants at Law, and other Lawyers pleaded in their harness. But the Queens Speech having secur'd the generality of the Citizens affections, strict Watch and Ward continued to be kept in *London*, the Mayor and Sheriffs Commanded each Man to shut down their Shop-windows, and stand ready Arm'd at their Doors, they themselves being likewise in Armour, the draw bridge was cut down, the Bridg-gate shut, and convenient forces sent to keep it, and others set in fit places of the City, whereby *Wyat's* purpose was defeated, and his expectations of assistance frustrated, as he himself complain'd in the Message he sent the *Londoners* by Merchant *Dorell*, upon his March out of *Southwark* toward *Kingstane*. For before he came with such confidence towards *London*, that he hoped for present entrance. An eminent instance doubtless of the Cities great power and the influence it had on that bold undertaking, which seems to have stood and fallen e'en as *London* stood affected and influenced.

But though the Queen prevail'd thus upon the *Londoners*, yet death could not be brib'd, nor



sham'd, by any promises or pretences, for die she  
 must, and die she did, after a short, though bloody  
 Reign, of five years and somewhat better, and so  
 way was made for the famous and ever Renowned  
 Queen *Elizabeth*, of blessed Memory, in whose  
 entrance into the Throne we find the Londoners  
 interesting themselves, notwithstanding she was pub-  
 lickly known, to be of a quite different Religion  
 from that at present Established; she being forth-  
 with Proclaimed in *London*, upon knowledge and  
 notice given of her Sister Queen *Maries* Death,  
 and coming from *Hatfield* within three or four days  
 after, *Stow* tells us, she was very dutifully and ho-  
 nourably met by the Lord Mayor, and the whole e-  
 state of *London*, and so conducted to the Charter-  
 house; and some time after Rode through the City  
 in great Majesty to *Westminster* to her Coronati-  
 on: At which Solemnity the Citizens gave her  
 ample demonstrations of their affections, by the  
 stately Pageants and sumptuous Shews, wherewith  
 they entertain'd her. Her settlement caus'd the  
 Reduction, encrease, and progress of the Protestant  
 Religion in *England*, and under the auspicious in-  
 fluence of her Reign the City flourish'd to such  
 an height of Grandeur, whether we respect the  
 concourse of Forreign Merchants from abroad, or  
 the stateliness of her public buildings at home, the  
 freedom and security of Traffick, and the flowing  
 in of Riches and Wealth thereby, the famous ex-  
 ploits perform'd by her Citizens in other Coun-  
 tries and Climates, and the foundation in these times  
 laid for much greater atchievements, by the neces-  
 sary preparatives of skill and knowledge in Mili-  
 tary affairs, gain'd by the more frequent Musters,  
 and Warlike exercises of her Inhabitants, than in  
 former times, or learn't at that Grand Nursery of  
 Soildiers

Souldiers, the Artillery Garden, that 'tis easie to conjecture how secure her Majesty was in the Cittizens love and loyalty, and how happy they thought themselves in the favour and protection of so good, great, and gracious a Princess.

'Tis not therefore to be expected, that such turns and changes should occur in her days, wherein the City might have occasion to interpose her Authority, to settle and secure the Nation against the furious attempts of arbitrary Pretenders, or lye under any unavoidable necessity of shewing her Power and Influence over it, in contradiction to other mens aspiring and ambitious Designs. However I am not destitute of an Instance, to demonstrate the consequence of her Example, and how much all *England* was influenced thereby to the manifestation of their zeal, love, and duty to their Sovereign. In 88. a year so famous for the Spanish Invasion, the Queens Counsel had demanded, what the City would do for her Majesty and their Country, and the Lord Mayor and Aldermen had referr'd it to their Honours to make their Proposals; whereupon fifteen Ships and five thousand Men being required, and two days respite at the Cities desire granted for Answer, they returned in convenient time and season, and entreated their Lordships, in sign of their perfect love and loyalty to their Prince and Country, ( they are *Stowes* words ) kindly to accept ten thousand Men, and thirty Ships amply furnished, double the number of what was asked, and even as *London* ( saith my Author ) gave President, the whole Nation kept ranck and equipage; so ready were the other Cities, Counties, Towns and Villages to follow where *London* went before. A plain instance of her powerful influence, deny it who can,

As

As to what concerns the frequency of the visits the Queen made to *London*, and the great splendor, wherewith they commonly welcom'd her home at the end of her Country progresses, I pass them all over, though undeniable demonstrations of the present content and satisfaction they took in Queen *Elizabeths* good Government : Neither shall I take notice of the many Companies of Soldiers she several times rais'd at her own charges for her Sovereigns Assistance, it having been commonly done before, under Princes in whom she took delight, because I would hasten to King *James*, the first Monarch of great *Britain*, in whose Person *England* and *Scotland* were first united, though his present Majesty, King *James's* Grand-son, was the first born Heir of that happy Union, that was Crowned King of both Realms, and the first English King by Birth of the Scottish race, that ever sat upon the English Throne that we read of.

To tell how this City flourish'd under this Prince in wealth and riches, in a general encrease of trade, by foreign Merchandizes and home-made Manufactures : The great ornament she received from her publick and private buildings, the strength that accrued to her by the numerousness of her Inhabitants, and the enlarging her borders, the conveniences procur'd her for water by *Midleton's* River, for Recreations by *Morefields*, and pleasantness by pav'd Streets, and the various expressions she made of her glory in the many noble Entertainments of King *James* and other great personages, Foreigners and Natives, and the rich presents she frequently gave, besides the renown she got abroad by sending greater Numbers of her Ships, than formerly, into all trading Parts of the World, and planting Colonies of her own people in *Ireland* and

and *Virginia*, would be tiresome perhaps to the Reader, and needless for the Writer; since that in *Stow's Chronicle*, continued by *Hem*, these particulars have been so largely treated of, whether the curious and inquisitive may apply themselves for further satisfaction. Neither shall I trouble my self with making large remarks upon the great honour and dignity, for the City's sake, belonging to the Lord Mayor thereof, of which we seem to have an Instance in the beginning of this Kings reign, when Sir Robert Lee, then Lord Mayor of *London*, subscrib'd in the first place to the invitation sent the King to come into *England*, before all the great Officers of the Crown, and all the Nobility; This great Magistrate, upon the Kings death, being said to be the prime person of *England*, than which what greater honour can there be appertaining to a Subject? I have indeed read in *Cotton*, that upon a Poll Bill the Lord Mayor paid four pound as an Earl many years ago, in King *Richard* the second days, when but few of the Nobility, if any besides the blood Royal, bore any higher title; And find since at our Kings Coronations that he hath had a principal place and part assigned him, particularly at his present Majesties, *April* 23d. 61. and in the honourable Cavalcade made from the *Tower* to *Westminster* the day before, in order thereunto, where the Suppliment to *Baker's Chronicle*, out of *Elias Ashmole* the *Windsor* Heralds Copy, hath placed him between the principal Officers of the Crown and the Duke of *Tork*, a place doubtless designed him as most suitable to his Dignity, and the high Office he bore; and yet I count none of these Honours comparable to that before mentioned, which seems paramount to all others. To be the highest by place in the Kingdom of course for a season sounds greater

greater, than to be a Second, a Third, or a Fourth, and is more doubtless to the Honour, Credit, and Reputation of the City, that confers this place as she pleases.

But the chiefeſt point I intend here to inſiſt on, with all convenient brevity and perſpicuity, is the Declaration of the Cities love and affection to King *James*, and the requital made her by him in return. The firſt I know not how it could be better expreſſed, than by the wonderful readineſs, and hearty gladneſs ( as the Annaliſt words it ) of the great City of *London*, where the Magiſtrates, and all other inferior Citizens ſhewed all poſſible ſigns of perfect joy and contentment, amidſt the general applauſe of the whole Engliſh Nation, when he was firſt proclaimed King of the Realm; and we have further demonſtrations thereof from the Kings honourable Reception, when he came near to *London*, by the Lord Mayor and Aldermen in Scarlet Robes, and five hundred grave Citizens in Velvet Coats and Chains of Gold, all very well mounted like the Sheriffs and their train, one of which had threeſcore men attending him in fair livery Cloaks. Another inſtance may be the care taken in *London* to watch and guard the Gates, upon the firſt diſcovery of the Gun-powder Treason, and the great joy and rejoycing manifeſted therein ſoon after, upon its further detection, by filling the Streets with Bonfires, and the Solemn Aſſemblies with publick praises and thankſgiving to the Almighty for the Kings happy Deliverance. This Gunpowder Treason ( ſo to obſerve by the way ) was one of the ſeven particulars the Intelligencer tells us were ſometime ſince ſet up in a Table in *St. Martins Church* at *York*, under this Title, *Things never to be forgotten by Proteſtants*. The other ſix were, The bloody Reign

Reign  
Eliza  
ty or  
One  
burn  
and  
One  
Inscr  
ſons  
very  
Lett  
Chu  
Spir  
abov  
testa  
in,  
mor  
deſig  
the  
thro  
amu  
thin  
E  
Kin  
may  
pla  
Lo  
and  
upo  
ty  
the  
fla  
Lo  
an  
po  
wo

Reign of *Queen Mary*. The many Plots in *Queen Elizabeths* Reign. The Massacre in *Ireland* in Forty one. The horrid Murder of King *Charles* in One thousand Six hundred and Forty eight. The burning of *London* in One thousand Six hundred and Sixty six. And the horrid Popish-plot in One thousand Six hundred and Seventy eight. An Inscription, that some harmless well meaning persons would have been apt doubtless to have thought very honest in its self, and deservedly written in Letters of Gold, till an Order came to one of the Church Wardens to take it down, or appear at the Spiritual Court to answer the Contempt: For 'twas above the ordinary Capacity of a Common lay-Protestant to apprehend any thing ill or offensive therein, till such wits among the Clergy, as had far more sagacious intellects, perceived the drift and design thereof, and judging it perhaps to be part of the Presbyterian Plot, might think fit to have it thrown down, that the Vulgar might be no more amus'd with the dreadful remembrance of such things.

But to return to the Cities Love and Loyalty to King *James*, another remarkable proof thereof may be deduced from the double Guards set in all places about *London*, the Precept issued out by the Lord Mayor to the Wards to raise the Train Bands, and the unexpressible distraction of Mens minds, upon a flying rumour suddenly spread about the *City March 22d.* ( somewhat above four Months after the Powder Plot was discovered ) of the Kings being slain that morning at *Oking*, some twenty Miles from *London*, which occasioned great weeping and wailing and much lamentation in old and young, rich and poor, till in three or four hours time all these Clouds were happily dispers'd by better and more certain

tain news brought of the Kings safety, and his return to *Whitehall* thereupon the same afternoon, where the peoples hearts were as much raised with joy, as before they had been drowned in grief, and the Lord Mayor and Aldermen went to congratulate his Majesty upon the assurance of his continued Health and Security.

Such were the expressions of the Cities affections, let us now see the return of Kindness on the Kings part, and his Princely acknowledgment of their singular love and loyalty to him. Much doubtless of the Kings mind in this particular may be guessed at from the frequent Visits he made the City, but I presume by no one Act of his better known, than by his repaying the Citizens of *London*, in the seventh of his Reign, the Threescore thousand pounds they had lent *Queen Elizabeth* three years before her death. An Act of the greatest Justice and Equity, and whereby likewise he got more love, saith the Chronicle, than he paid money. This may pass both for an Example of the Kings Goodness and Prudence, and an Instance of *Londons* Power and Esteem, since his Majesty thought it good to be at such charges to oblige her. For to pay their Predecessors Debts is so rare among Princes, that many of them hardly ever pay their own.

Hitherto have I presented the Reader with variety of passages out of our English Chronicles, to demonstrate the Glory, Honour, and Renown of the City of *London*, and the Courage of her Citizens, the Power of her Magistrates, the Strength of the Commonalty, and the undeniable Influence of the whole Corporation upon the rest of the Kingdom; and have given him here and there the words and expressions of private men, as fo  
many

many illustrative Arguments on the Points. Wherefore now I shall produce no less than what I account a Royal Testimony, in confirmation of the many demonstrative Evidences already brought, and that of no less a Prince than his present Majesties Royal Father, King *Charles* the First, and out of an Author so little partial to the City, that the very name of *Peter Heylin*, and the diligent perusal of Arch-Bishop *Lauds* Life, by him writ, may sufficiently convince an indifferent Reader, that he was none of *Londons* greatest Favourers or Admirers, since 'twas look'd on as the Retreat and Receptacle of the Grandees of the Puritan faction, as he is pleas'd to stile all those he thought contrary to that Party of Men, he will needs call the Church of *England*. A Proof therefore out of such an Adversary's mouth, as *Heylins*, seems a very convincing Argument, when he himself is forced, meerly by truth and matter of fact, to confess and acknowledge the influence of *London* on all parts of the Kingdom, in that passage, where he intimates it to have been generally look't upon as the compass, by which the lesser Towns and Corporations were wont to steer their course, and to plead it's practice on all occasions.

What I conceive to be the Kings Testimony by that writer deliver'd; is by him brought in, as the reason of his Majesties preferring *Land* to the Bishoprick of *London*, viz. For that he was a Man of a more active Spirit than the former Bishop, and so fitter to carry on the design of rendring the City conformable to that propos'd Model of Church Government, which was intended for the whole Nation, and therein theretore principally to be promoted, because of the Influence it had, by reason of it's wealth and trading, on all parts of the Kingdom, and that upon the correspondence and conformity



*mity thereof the welfare of the whole depended.* This Testimony doubtless is of great authority, because proceeding from so Judicious a Prince, and related by an Author not to be suppos'd over ready to write any thing in favour of this City, to which he seems to have born a very great animosity, because the Citizens would not be so thorough-pac'd Episcopal, as his Reverend Doctorship would have had them to have been. But now methinks it should be of greater prevalency than ever, since that King *Charles* himself, before he dyed, out of his own experience knew much more of the Cities strength and Power, than many of his Predecessors did for some ages before. For 'tis plain beyond denial, dispute, or contradiction, out of the memory of Man and the everlasting Records of time, that in the late Wars between him and his two Houses of Parliament, 'twas the Cities power and influence, that rais'd them to that height of Grandeur, which made them so formidable to all the Royal party. Whereas, without her help and assistance, how little able they had been to have long subsisted, or held up their heads above ground, is evident from the many supplies they had from *London*, of Men, Mony, and Arms, the frequent applications they made to her on all extremities, and the constant endeavours they us'd to cultivate her friendship, and preserve her affections. But over these Transactions I shall choose rather to cast a vail of silence, than industriously endeavour to lay open the bleeding wounds of the Nation in those days, as being fully assur'd of the impossibility of guiding my pen so dextrously in delivering the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, as not to subject my self to censure, nor incur the anger, displeasure, and indignation of any

one.

one. Suffice it then to say, that, in the long Vacation of Parliaments under King *Charles* the first, such seeds of discontent were sown, in City, as well as Country, that upon the first opportunity, they sprung up into bitter herbs, and sour fruit, and who tasted most thereof, I think all the *European* world knows sufficiently by this time of day.

But if any in this age is so ignorant as to wonder how it was possible for the two Houses in forty one to bear up against the King, without being dismiss'd from *Westminster* by vertue of the Kings Prerogative, the usual method of ancient times; and the known practice of later days, he is to know and understand, that his late Majesty had formally pass'd away his grand Power of Prorogations, Adjournments, and Dissolutions by an Act of Parliament, and so put the staff out of his own hands, that he could never recover, as long as he lived, by force nor intreaty. An act of Grace this was, that is hardly to be parallel'd, and yet perhaps it may be lik'ned to the Statute made in the second of *Richard* the second, of which I have made mention before, against abrupt and untimely dismissions, only that this is plainer worded, and seems enlarged to a further extent. Otherwise, considering the use that might have been possibly made of the former, it might have look't like the same book with additions new Printed in *Octavo*, which before was bound up in *decimo sexto*. Neither of these are to be found in our New Printed Statute books, they pretending not to set down all the Antiquated, Repeal'd, or expir'd Statutes, that ever were in being. Therefore if any one desires to humour his curiosity, he must apply himself to *Cottons* Abridgement of the *Tower* Records for the one, and search after the other in some of those books, that treat

of the affairs of the late times. Now the *Observator* in such a case tells us of *Scobel* and *Husbands* Collections : Upon which so Authentick an Authority, as some esteem it, if we have recourse to *Scobels* Collections of the best Edition, 'tis ten thousand to one but we shall there find the Statute in this manner following. *Whereas great summs of money must of necessity be speedily advanced and provided for the relief of His Majesties Army and People in the Northern parts of this Realm, and for preventing the imminent danger this Kingdom is in, and for supply of other His Majesties present and urgent occasions, which cannot be so timely effected as is requisite, without Credit for raising the said monies, which credit cannot be obtained, until such obstacles be first removed, as are occasioned by fears, jealousies, and apprehensions of divers his Majesties Loyal Subjects, that this present Parliament may be Adjourned, Prorogued, or Dissolved, before Justice shall be duly executed upon Delinquents, publick grievances redressed, a firm Peace between the two Nations of England and Scotland concluded, and before sufficient provision be made for the repayment of the said monies so to be raised: All which the Commons in this present Parliament assembled, having duly considered, do therefore humbly beseech your most excellent Majesty, that it may be declared and Enacted; And be it declared and enacted by the King our Sovereign Lord, with the assent of the Lords and Commons in this present Parliament Assembled, and by the Authority of the same, That this present Parliament now Assembled shall not be dissolved, unless it be by Act of Parliament to be passed for that purpose, nor shall be at any time or times during the continuance thereof, Prorogued, or Adjourned, unless it be by Act of Parliament, to be likewise passed for that purpose: And that the House of Peers shall not at any time or times during*

this

*this present Parliament, be Adjourned, unless it be by themselves or by their own Order: And in like manner, that the House of Commons shall not anytime or times during this present Parliament be Adjourned, unless it be by themselves or by their own order: And that all and every thing and things whatsoever, done or to be done, for the Adjournment, Proroguing or Dissolving of this present Parliament contrary to this Act, shall be utterly void, and of none effect.*

This Act in General prov'd the destruction of that branch of the Royal Prerogative, which related to calling or dissolving Parliaments; and that particular clause in the end *that all and every thing and things whatsoever done or to be done, for the Adjournment, Proroguing or dissolving of this present Parliament contrary to this Act, shall be utterly void, and of none effect*, was, we may believe from subsequent passages, a Plea, the wits of the age durst have ventur'd to have stood by, against any attempts to discontinue, disappoint, or frustrate the meeting of the two Houses of Parliament, if they had Spirit and Courage enough to have own'd any thing of the Law. So that upon a groundwork so firm, and a foundation so sure, the Parliamentarians valued not all the subtle Arts and devices of their Enemies, nor stood in fear of those Mercerial Engines, Pen Ink and Paper, so they could but defend themselves against those Martial Arguments, the bright-shining Sword, and the thundering Cannon. By vertue of this Clause we may conclude, that, after the House of Commons was violently depriv'd of many Members thereof, the House of Lords wholly put down, and that small remainder of a Parliament forc'd out of Doors by *Oliver* and the Soldiers, after two Protectors, and several Assemblies, that took on them the vener-

able Name of Parliaments, and some of them too chosen by the People, part of the Commons House nevertheless again got into power, and being once more thrust out by the Army, afterwards Recover'd possession, and the whole House was in a fair likelihood to have been fill'd up by the Re-admission of the secluded Members, till they, to make way for a greater turn, did all, that lay in the power of a single House, to dissolve the Parliament, which with us consists of the King and his two Houses.

Treating now of the late times, and having drawn a veil over the Transactions in the last Wars, wherein the City was more particularly concern'd, (though 'tis well known, that her power and Influence was very considerable in the many turns and changes, through which the State was then hurried) I shall not stand to shew, how much she was Courted by *Oliver* and the rest of the Usurping powers on all emergencies, and the great care was taken to secure her to their interest and party, though both are touch'd upon in the supplement to *Bakers Chronicle*; but passing all over I come now to demonstrate, the great influence she had upon the Nation in that remarkable turn of the times, which produc'd so unparallel'd a wonder, as the peaceable Restauration of an exil'd Prince to his Father's Crown and Kingdom without blood: Which to prove I need go no further than the aforesaid supplement, where several evidences and convincing circumstances are to be found, (besides matters of fact already else where related) and I doubt not but sufficiently demonstrative. These to Marshal in their order, I begin first of all with the Citizens discontentedness at the Committee of safety, and *Fleetwoods* doubtfulness of

of them, and proceed to General *Monk's* Letter sent to the Lord Mayor and Common Council (some time after he had declared his Resolution to reduce the Military power under the Civil, though principally intending, we are since told, the Kings Restauration) to heighen their differences, wherein, upon a Declaration of his open intentions, he expresses his Expectation of their Assistance, lest it should be too late for them by their own strength to assert their freedom, if he miscarried through the want of their timely aid, and dishonourable, if he succeeded, for so Famous a City and so much concern'd, that it's Liberties should be asserted without its own help. In the next place comes the encouragement, the Letter sent from some of the old Council of State privately met at *London*, (among whom we find Sir *Anthony Ashley Cooper*, that Fam'd Earl of *Shaftsbury*, a Principal Agent through the whole course of those affairs, and an active Instrument in bringing in the King) to *Monk*, brought his Officers in *Scotland*, and the reason given thereof, viz. That the wisest of them did conclude from these appearances of action at *London*, that their party was encreased in *England*, imagining that otherwise they durst not have so openly acted. Then follows the Intelligence hereceiv'd, when at *Coldstream*, from his Brother *Clarges*, that there were many great differences in *London*, between *Fleetwood* and the City; that the Prentices, and several others in favour of him, had many Consultations to make disturbances, and were framing a Petition to the Lord Mayor and Common Council, to press their interposition for the restoring the Parliament, and preservation of Magistracy, their rising in a Tumultuous manner, upon a Proclamation emitted by the Committee of

Safety to prohibit all gathering of hands to Petitions, and the shutting up of Shops upon *Hewson's* coming to suppress them, the affronts put upon his Soldiers by scornful reproaches and Hissings to that degree, that they were ashamed to March, and many Officers, when they went into the City, durst not wear their Swords, for fear of the like; and, which was as material as any, that the Lord Mayor and several Aldermen had had many ineffectual Treaties with *Fleetwood* and the Chief of the Army, and Committee of Safety; the City demanding the managment and conduct of their own Militia, and the instant Restauration of the Parliament, or the calling another, which being refus'd, much augmented their discontents. These were Preparatives to the resisting of part of the Commons house, which soon after was invited to reassume their former power. Enter next to General *Monk* at *Morpeth*, the Sword bearer of *London*, with a very respectful Letter from the Lord Mayor and Common Council. After this we hear of *Charges's* Advice to *Monk*, to get the Parliament Soldiers remov'd out of *London*, and to march his own men in thither, so to be Master of the City, with the reason laid down, that otherwise he could never expect to do any good for his Country; since in all those times it had been experienced, that to whatever was done at *London*, where they had nine or ten thousand men to justifie their actions, all the rest of the Regiments submitted. Now follow Commissioners from the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Common Council of *London* to the General, and their Proposition for the readmission of the secluded Members that the Parliament might be made full and free. Then the discontented carriage of the City, the high debates in the Common Council  
about

about the Government, and their resolution to pay no publick Taxes, till the House were filled up with equal Representatives. After this the Generals intercession to those then of the Commons House for a mitigation of their Commands laid on him, among other severities, to take down *Londons* Gates and Portcullices, for this reason, that such a vice acting would highly incense the City, and the Compliment of thanks, to please the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, sent them from the House for their moderation in that time of disorder in the City. But to close all with a futable instance, *Clarges's* Counsel to General *Monk*, to endeavour the speedy recovery of the City's good opinion, almost lost by his rough actings therein just before, brings up the rear, with the effectual representation he made him of the ill Consequences of his proceedings in *London*, and the prevalent motives, urgent reasons, and good grounds laid down by him, to back his Advice. 'As, that the influence the City had by commerce, and other Occasions, all over *England*, would quickly diffuse the Infamy of the Fact: And 'all the Cities and Towns would be alarm'd, believing, if that great City should be made a Village, 'that all their Franchises and Priviledges would be 'quickly subverted. So that he had no way to redeem his Reputation, but the very next morning 'to return into the City with his Army, and declare 'for a free Parliament. This Counsel presently followed terminated in a successful event, and very happy to King and Kindgom, by the Miraculous Restauration of his most gracious Majesty, *Charles* the Second, to his Patrimonial inheritance, and the Throne of his Father.

Thus have I musterd up my Evidences in Rank and File, all which conjoyn'd, like the old Country-



man's rods in the Fable bound up together in one bundle, will make doubtless a very convincing Argument of the great power and influence *London* had upon the Nation in this grand turn of the Times. I shall therefore leave it to the Reader to make suitable remarks thereon, it being so obvious to an unprejudic'd Person, that great was the encouragement General *Monk* and his Officers receiv'd from *London*, considerable was the hope and confidence he put therein, when he undertook so Heroick an Enterprize, as the freeing his poor Country from the Tyranical exorbitancies of the unruly Soldiers, and thought of marching up thither in Arms with all convenient speed to that end; and most highly advantageous to his Designs was the unanimous concurrence of this great, honourable, and powerful City, which was not so furiously rash, presently to attempt to run down the encroachers upon their dearly belov'd Liberties, when they might with greater ease, and as effectually, gently walk them down, as a certain Person is said to have express'd it on a much later Occasion. The City petition'd and address'd, and she was follow'd by the Country: She waited a while with patience, and the secluded Members, that were chosen in forty and from forty eight kept out of the house till fifty nine, for almost twelve years space, were restor'd in peace and quietness, though under some few Obligations; And so there was again the face of a House of Commons: Being restor'd, they dissolv'd themselves in a short time after, to make way for another assembly, call'd a Parliament, though some thought in those times that the Parliament of Forty had been dissolv'd long before by his late Majesties death, and so might haply think this a needless Ceremony.

It

It being most certain, that that Parliament ow'd its beginning to the Kings Writ, although its continuance was thought to depend on the continuing Act, as long as the King liv'd. Yet, notwithstanding the House of Commons had actually dissolv'd themselves, and it was become the receiv'd opinion that the Parliament of Forty was in Law dissolv'd before upon the old Kings death, the next Assembly, *Stylo Communi* Parliament, would not barely stick to either of these ways, but thought good likewise themselves, by vertue of their Authority to declare that Parliament of Forty dissolv'd. Whether or no they thought, that the bare Act of a single house of Commons, without King and Lords, could not in Law be took for a formal Repeal of the former continuing Act, made by King, Lords, and Commons joyn'tly, and so reject-ed it, as really insignificant in its self, though made use of for the time; and out of a Cautious foresight dreaded some ill consequences attending the receiv'd opinion, [of the long Parliaments being dissolv'd by the Kings death, whether or no the continuing Act were formally repeal'd by as good Authority as made it] lest thence in time, no body knows when, occasion might be taken to argue, that if a Kings death repeals one unlimited Act, it may likewise on the same ground vacate all by him made, and so, by affirming the same of all other Princes since the first *William*, a foundation might be laid for the Introduction of Arbitrary Power, when evil minded Pretenders are absolute enough to attempt it with hopes of Impunity, I pretend not to determine. For I remember my self to be a Relater of matters of Fact, not a Reader of Law Cases.

Therefore I proceed to acquaint the Reader,  
that

that that Assembly ( though call'd without the Kings Writ , yet by his Majesty afterwards most Graciously own'd and acknowledg'd for a Parliament ) thought it fitting and convenient , to declare and enact , ' that the Parliament begun and ' holden at *Westminster* the third day of *November*, in ' the sixteenth year of the Reign of the Late King ' *Charles* of blessed Memory, is fully dissolved and ' determin'd. They are the words of the Act to be seen in the Statute-book, *Cap. 1. 12 Car. 2.* This was the Assembly that blessed us with his Majesties actual Restauration, towards which there had been made so many steps a little before by the Loyal Nobility, Gentry, and Commonalty of the Land, and the Worthy Citizens of this Honourable City: Whose publick Reception , and Triumphant Cavalcade through the City of *London* to *White hall* was very remarkable, for the splendid appearance of the Citizens to conduct him , the Gallantry shewn by them on so acceptable a Solemnity , and the many demonstrations of joy and gladness they gave him, worthy themselves, and that glorious day, which they had so long expected, and contributed so much of their assistance to hasten. For which I have a passage or two more to produce, besides what hath been already brought. For the first, out of the supplement to *Baker*, I quote his Majesties most Gracious Letter, To his Trusty and well belov'd, the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Common Council of the City of *London*, wherein he Honourably acknowledges the publick and frequent Manifestations of their affections to him, and the Encouragement and good Example they gave the Nation to assert the Ancient Government , and thereupon concludes with large Promises of Extraordinary kindness to this his Native City, to the Renewal

of their Charter, Confirmation of all priviledges granted by his Predecessors, and the adding of new favours to advance the Trade Wealth and Honour thereof. The next is a Commemoration of the Cities Joyful Resentment of this Letter, and the Kings Declaration enclos'd in it, as it was was express'd by the Grateful Duty of the Common-Council, who immediately, upon the reading of them, ordered a Present of Ten thousand Pounds to be made to His Majesty, and a thousand pounds to each of his Brothers: And likewise deputed several of the Aldermen and worthy Citizens to attend upon His Majesty from the City, with a Presentment of their most Dutiful acknowledgments for his Clemency and Goodness towards them. So desirous were they to give him the greatest demonstrations of their affection and Loyalty before his Return, and Judiciously Wife, as well as Loyal, to set all parts of the Nation a good Example to imitate in a ready manifestation of their Duty and Allegiance to him after his Return. Neither in this would they be behind hand with any of them all. For the City of *London*, as being the first, the richest, and most Honourable, and the Seat of Kings for many ages, might Judge it self oblig'd (as the Supplémenter insinuates) in point of duty and Reputation, to exceed all the rest in the Glory of their performances towards their Sovereign. But whatever the Citizens did think of the Obligation on either side, certain enough it is, that the reiterated expressions of their Loyalty to the King were Honourable, and Meritorious to the highest degree. For to the splendor of their former Preparations at his first Reception and Triumphal Entrance, they added the cost of a most magnificent Entertainment at *Guild-hal*, (for that very purpose richly beautified and

and adorned) whither the King, his two Brothers, the Lords of the Privy Council, the two Houses of Parliament, and the chief Officers of State were conducted (*July* the fifth, 1660.) in great Pomp by the Lord Mayor, and the Grandees of the City and treated in a Royal manner with the choicest of Delicacies, with excellent Musick, and whatever else could be thought on, or delightful for so Illustrious an Assembly. As if the Citizens thought it not enough to entertain the King, but for his sake were resolv'd to put themselves to the charge of gratifying others for their Loyalty. Where's now the Man can bring me a parallel hereto? General *Monk* appear'd, and *London* concur'd, and then the House of Commons of the Parliament of forty is immediately reviv'd, a face of the Ancient Government restor'd, a new Parliamentary Assembly call'd, the King sent for home to enjoy his Fathers Throne, and most peaceably settled therein without the noise of War, or the cries of the wounded in our streets. A Miraculous effect of the Cities influence. For what parts of the Land are so inconsiderate to oppose, when *London* is engag'd and resolv'd? Former Examples may teach them future wisdom.

These having been the necessary preparatives, in sixty one, on Saint *Georges* day, *April* the 23. comes the Kings Coronation, (the fairest day except the Preceding, in which he made his Cavalcade through *London*, the Nation enjoy'd both before and after, if the supplementers Observation be well grounded, notwithstanding it began to Thunder and Lighten very smartly towards the end of Dinner time,) and soon after that another meeting of King, Lords, and Commons at *Westminster*, whither the Kings Writs had Summoned them

the  
fen  
by  
cep  
and  
con  
wa  
nev  
ma  
Ex  
the  
the  
fea  
ve  
ra  
ty  
th  
lia  
ly  
th  
L  
ou  
en  
ti  
li  
of  
h  
ly  
a  
A  
t  
t  
I  
M  
H  
I

them to make a New Parliament, the former Assembly having been dissolv'd the *December* before by his Majesties Order and Command. How acceptable the Actions of that Assembly were to City and Country hath been hinted before, and the concurrence of the King, when restor'd, was not wanting to Authorize their proceedings; yet this new Assembly, notwithstanding, thinking the manner of it's Assembling not to be drawn into Example, and that therewas some defect, as to the necessary point of Legality, in the Statutes then made, or at least desirous to remove all doubts, fears and scruples about them, would not let several of those Acts pass without being formally ratified, and confirm'd anew by it's own Authority. And therefore consequently, not trusting to the receiv'd opinion of the dissolution of the Parliament of forty by the late Kings Death, nor relying on the House of Commons Act to dissolve themselves in fifty nine, nor the dissolution of the Lords and Commons in sixty, another Declaration was made in the point, in these word. *To the end, that no Man hereafter may be misled into any seditious or unquiet demeanor, out of an opinion that the Parliament begun and held at Westminster, upon the third day of November, in the year of our Lord, one thousand six hundred and forty, is yet in being, which is undoubtedly dissolved and determined, and so is hereby Declared and Adjudged to be fully Dissolved and Determined.* And it was further Enacted, by the same Authority, *That if any Person or Persons at any time after the four and twentieth day of June, in the year of our Lord, one thousand six hundred sixty and one, shall Malitiously and Advisedly, by Writing, Printing, Preaching, or other Speaking, Express, Publish, Utter, Declare or affirm, that the Parliament begun at Westminster*

minster upon the third day of November, in the year of our Lord, one thousand six hundred and forty, is not yet dissolved, or is not yet determined, or that it ought to be in being, or hath yet any continuance or Existence, that then every such Person and Persons so as aforesaid offending shall incur the danger and penalty of a Premunire mentioned in a Statute made in the sixteenth year of the Reign of King Richard the second.

Thus then were all disputes upon this point effectually stil'd and suppress'd by this Authority and Command of King, Lords and Commons, and the greatness of the penalty incur'd by the person offending, which amounts to no less than to be put out of the Kings Protection, and have his Lands and Tenements, Goods and Chattels, forfeited to the King, and his Body Attach'd, if to be found, and brought before the King and his Council, there to Answer the premises, or that process be made against him by *Premunire facias*, and if return'd *non est inventus*, than to be Outlaw'd.

Next I proceed to observe, that 'twas Petitioning and addressing, that prepar'd the way for His Majesties Restauration, and therefore doubtless the remembrance thereof should be always grateful and acceptable to the Loyal. Such preparatories to great turns and changes being alwaies preferable to the other rougher methods of drawn Swords and loaded Pistols, which are the general effects of Civil Broils and Commotions, while these are the rational results of Wisdom and Prudence.

With the King was that part of the English Clergy likewise restor'd, which appropriates to it self the name of the Church of England. A Term much gloried in by many, as if none but them-

themselves were the constitutive parts thereof, and which some now adays pretend freeer from Ambiguity than the more general Name of Protestants. What we understand by that Term we know very well, and are not ashamed thereof. Yet, by the way, I don't think but 'tis as lyable to exceptions, where Cavils take place, as the other title of Protestants, so much of late turn'd into ridicule by some few pretenders to wit and sense above the vulgar. For if by Church we understand barely an Assembly of Men met together in one place, then doubtless, without any incongruity; it may be applied to many a civil meeting of Men together about their own private concerns. If by Church we mean a society of Men conjoyn'd in Spiritual duties, or the Ordinances of Divine Worship, then I hope it will be no Solecism in common Speech to affirm, many of the Dissenters meetings may reasonably lay claim to the Name. And if a due Celebration of the Sacraments will make a Church, why then may not the Denomination as well belong to some private Conventicles, as to the publick Oratories? If it should denote only the Association of many distinct Assemblies under the same Ecclesiastical Government, what should hinder the Presbyterians from enjoying the Title in those places, where they are allowed to exercise their power in Classica, Provincial, or National Synods? Which Power they once exercis'd in *England* publickly within the Memory of Man. But if the Law of the Land makes the difference, and the established Government of the Country, in Ecclesiastical affairs, as with us in *England*, then I am apt to beleive this Expression, the Church of *England*, is not without it's Ambiguities, and may be a denomination comprehensive of



of Men of as many different modes and forms, as some would fain have us think the word Protestant admits of.

Heretofore at the first planting of the Gospel in this Isle among the *Britains*, we may call it the British Church. When *Austin* the Monk came in, bringing with him the Customs and Ceremonies of the Church of *Rome*, and introduc'd them among the converted *Saxons*, then we may term it the Romish Church. When the Monks and Fryers, like the Frogs in *Egypt*, had over-spread the whole face of the Land, then we may give it the Epithite of Monkish. In succeeding Generations, when Popery was arriv'd to its height, we may name it the Popish Church. In King *Edward* the sixth days it may properly be called Reformed. Under the *Marian* Persecution 'twas certainly Popish. Queen *Elizabeth* brought back the Reformed Religion under an Episcopal Government, and therefore I venture to give it the Name of the Reformed Episcopal Church. A little before the late Wars, when the Hierarchy was arriv'd at its highest pitch of Pomp and Grandeur by the *Laudean* principles and practises; It was certainly then Prelatical. In the late times 'twas once the Presbyterian, then the Independent Church, and other Sectaries were putting in a pace for a share; and then, had they succeeded, it might have been, without much impropriety, entitled to the Epithite of Fanatical. King *Charles* brought back the Bishops, and so now 'tis again Episcopal. Should Popery come in, it would be Popish. Were there any likelihood of so great an Impossibility, as the prevalency of Judaism, then it would be the *Jewish* Church. If *Mahomet's* Religion, which hath been publickly profess'd in the Pulpit preferable to Presbiterianism, why might

might it not be allow'd the Title of *Mahometan*? And if we should revert to the Ancient Barbarity; where would the Impropriety be; should we term it the Heathenish Church? For the Heathens heretofore had the thing, though not the Name; Temples instead of Churches, and bloody Sacrifices to make up the greatest part of their Devotion.

What a fine Company then of different Epithites, of different significations, would these be for an impertinent Caviller to prefix before that so much applaud'd expression, the Church of *England*, in reply to his impertinence, that would persuade simple ignorant people, that they know not what they say; when they call themselves Protestants? British, Romish, Monkish, Popish, Reformed, Episcopal, Prelatical, Presbyterian, Independent, Fanatical, Jewish, Mahometan, Heathenish; and what not? To such a fine pass would people once be brought, when they fall to wrangling about words and terms, at the same time, that they know one anothers meaning well enough, yet will pretend not to understand each other: We may have haply reason enough to approve of, and glory in the Name of Church of *England* men; though not perhaps in such a restrained sense, as some do, yet our grounds, without all peradventure, are as good to apply to our selves the glorious Title of Protestants, and we can as properly distinguish our selves thereby from Papists, as if we term'd our selves only Sons of the Church of *England*; under this consideration, that Protestants at first were such, *Baker* tells us, as made a Protestation in defence of their Doctrine; and now we are such as protest against Popery and Slavery.

B b

But

But to return, how contributory this Honourable City was to his Majesties Restauration, and how Loyally affectionate her Citizens shew'd themselves to him before and after, hath been already instanced: Let us then in the next place take a short transient view of her actions, and the accidents hapning to her, under King *Charles* the second, and see whither she hath not continued still the same, as of old, a City of high Renown, Fame and Power, and of great sway and influence all over the Kingdom.

First then let us consider her misfortunes, that we may the better contemplate her glories. In sixty two her Parishes lost many of their beloved Pastors in that Great ejection of publick Ministers, among whom were some that had declar'd in Print against the pretended high Court of Justice in the time of his Late Majesties Tryal. In sixty five the great Plague swept away her Citizens by thousands, tens of thousands, and scores of thousands. In sixty six the fire burn'd almost all the Remainder out of House and home, and laid in a manner the whole City in Ashes: So that, if ever, she seem'd then near to a very dismal Catastrophe. And yet we see now Providence hath delivered her out of these her Calamities, and she is become more glorious than ever in the Eyes of the Nation. The number of her Citizens is so increas'd, and her streets fill'd with such multitudes of people passing to and fro, that those who dyed in the sickness are neither miss'd nor wanted. The fire hath made such a Reformation within her Walls, and the new buildings, publick and private, have been rais'd up, to the admiration of all, in so small a space of time, and in so pompous and stately a form, that she may be thought, like the old *Phenix* burning

ning in her nest of odoriferous Spices, only to have shaken off her old decay'd feathers by the fire, and out of her own Ashes, *Phenix* like, to have risen up with more Splendor and Gallantry than ever.

Come we now to the late Discovery of the Grand Popish Plot, and the times succeeding, and therein also we meet with instances of *Londons* influence and Authority with the rest of the Nation. She guarded her self with her own Arms, and how soon was she follow'd in other places? After the dissolution of some of the National Assemblies, (which we English men call Parliaments, and firmly beleive the greatest liberty of the subject to consist therein) upon a new choice, when her Citizens made a publick promise to their chosen Representatives, that they would stand by them with their lives and fortunes: Such a Copy was set the Nation, that most places strove to imitate it, and the Example was as influential, as when before, upon the Cities Petitioning for the sitting of one of those before mention'd Parliaments, Petitions of the same nature came thronging in again from several parts of the Land in imitation.

Look we now upon the City, and see how intent the eyes of the Nation are fixt upon her actions, and the great contest about the Sheriffs. How all the Land seems concern'd on one side or the other, and think their own well-fare wrapt up in her security. Such sollicitousness of a whole Nation for one particular City must certainly denote some what extraordinary therein: And what is it, can more interest the Nation in her concerns, than the great Influence 'tis known she has upon all their grand affairs, be they more or less publick? Even the very business of the *Quo Warrants*, now depending, will administer an instance of her

Power and Greatness. How do all now stand ready waiting the Event, depending upon her success, or ready to follow her fate? When the Writ was brought against her Charter, how great was the Expectation of the people, and their longings to know what would be the Issue? Some Resign'd, but when *London* appear'd to Stand up in her own Vindication, what a stop was there put to Resignations, and how rare have been surrenders since? Most seem now ready to defend themselves by Law; Nay, *Oxford* hath pitch'd upon the same way and method with *London*: Whereas had this Honourable City, but surrender'd calmly and quietly, 'tis a question whither any would have stood out, or whether rather all Towns and Corporations would not have strove to have out-run each other to the Throne of Majesty, there to have made an intire Resignation of all their Charters, Liberties, Priviledges and Franchises, notwithstanding the hazard they might have run, by dissolving their Ancient Corporations, to have lost back all the Estates, given to them as Corporate bodies, to the Donors Heirs, suitable to the Reply said to be made to the Burgeesses of a Certain Corporation, when they ask'd advice in the Case.

Such having been the influences of the City of *London* all along upon the Nation, and such the undeniable proofs thereof, what then remains, but that we must needs acknowledge and confess her to be a City most Triumphant? Triumphant in the Antiquity of her Foundation, the continuance of her ancient renown, and the Glorious Acts of her Citizens: Triumphant in the Freedom of her Priviledges, the Honourable respect shewn her Magistrates, and the Combined strength of her Commonalty:

Triumphant

Triumphant in the Prevalency of her Power, Victorious success of her Arms, and unavoidable Destruction of her Enemies. Let us therefore with an united consent prostrate our selves before the Throne of Grace with this Petitionary request, that she may continue ever fixt and unmovable in her Duty to the Almighty, firm in her Loyalty to the King, and secure in an uninterrupted enjoyment of her just Rights, Liberties, Priviledges and Franchises: A Prayer, where-to I doubt not but every Loyal English Man, and honest well meaning Citizen will readily from his heart say, *Amen*.

---

*F I N I S.*

---

The Courteous Reader is desir'd to pardon the faults, that have escap'd through inadvertency, either in pointing or spelling, and with his pen to mend the following Errata, as the more material ones.

**P**Ag. 21. l. 21. r. hundreds. p. 14. l. 32. r. more frequently. l. 35. r. repell'd. p. 15. l. 30. r. it's. p. 29. l. 9. r. lines. p. 44. l. 4. r. of. l. 45. r. call'd. p. 48. l. 4. r. elder. p. 68. l. 4. r. might go. p. 69. l. 31. r. plac'd under. p. 72. l. 22. del. in. p. 73. l. 2. r. digest. l. 18. r. Fabian's. p. 75. l. 7. r. came. 76. l. 1. r. it is. l. 7. r. let them. p. 77. l. 6. r. bay. p. 79. l. 8. r. 40000. p. 82. l. 26. r. Englishmen. l. 32. r. came only. p. 89. l. 29. r. arc. p. 97. l. 11. r. we may. p. 101. l. 6. r. held. l. 21. r. his. p. 110. l. 15. ad. 43. p. 112. l. 27. r. yet. p. 116. l. 5. r. of a. l. 24. r. How. p. 117. l. 27. r. into. p. 124. l. 4. r. hold. p. 132. l. 27. r. clogging. p. 133. l. 27. ad. 111. p. 140. l. 18. r. Brothers. p. 143. l. 27. r. his. p. 145. l. 10. r. chiefs. p. 147. l. 3. r. were. p. 152. l. 8. r. Lyon. l. 20. r. immediately. p. 155. l. 1. r. were. p. 156. l. 31. ad. it. p. 157. l. 33. ad. of the. l. 34. r. Our remark. p. 159. l. 33. r. great forfeiture. p. 161. l. 6. r. added. p. 163. l. 10. r. his. p. 164. l. 15. r. quieter. l. 18. r. with. l. 32. r. badge. p. 167. l. 6. r. was. p. 168. l. 11. r. accurs'd. l. 20. r. haribanes. p. 170. l. 8. r. who. p. 172. l. 10. r. fort. l. 11. r. plac'd. p. 173. l. 8. r. annates. p. 175. l. 2. r. prejudicial. l. 22. r. In. p. 176. l. 28. r. Zouch. p. 178. l. 15. the fam'd. p. 181. l. 10. demeanours. p. 185. l. 24. r. equally. p. 203. l. 13. r. than. p. 215. l. 33. r. in. p. 241. l. 2. r. old. p. 242. l. 1. r. formally. l. 27. r. meet. p. 248. l. 8. and from. d. and. p. 250. l. 7. r. culling. p. 252. l. 32. r. unwitting. p. 253. l. 26. r. joynt. p. 255. l. 24. r. for an. p. 262. l. 23. r. Planet-like. p. 263. l. 28. r. Bafons. p. 265. l. 11. r. series. p. 266. l. 30. 31. r. Parliament men's. p. 273. l. 8. r. sprung. p. 277. l. 11. ad. 246. p. 284. l. 33. r. wears. p. 288. l. 12. r. suppress. p. 290. l. 7. made a. d. a. l. 20. r. those. l. 30. r. fourteen. p. 291. l. 13. r. Poet Bayes's. l. 28. r. one or other. p. 293. l. 5. r. the Age. p. 294. l. 9. r. all the. p. 298. l. 11. r. Robbery. l. 34. r. Historical. p. 304. l. 10. r. Informations. l. 13. r. this. p. 305. l. 8. r. brake. l. 10. r. Battel. p. 306. l. 13. r. their opinions. l. 25. r. benefit. l. 27. r. strength. p. 307. l. 12. r. Observers. p. 308. l. 29. r. after *Yowton* Battel. p. 311. l. 13. r. and. p. 312. l. 14. d. had. p. 314. l. 33. r. chosen. l. 36. d. as. p. 315. l. 11. r. vigilance of the discerning. l. 10. r. depart. p. 316. l. 11. r. these her declared. p. 319. l. 7. r. divert. p. 320. l. 11. r. Historian. l. 14. r. anothers cause. l. 21. r. hen. l. 29. r. or. p. 322. l. 27. r. humour. p. 325. l. 3. ad. the. l. 11. r. But. p. 329. l. 26. r. plac'd abroad. l. 34. r. Parts. p. 340. l. 3. r. little. p. 355. l. 3. r. at any. p. 363. l. 21. r. neither then. p. 365. l. 20. r. Declaration.

There may possibly be found here and there a word or Letter redundant and deficient, which upon the review have been let pass without a Mark, but 'tis hop'd none have pass'd unobserv'd, which may prove injurious to the sence, or justify occasion any mistake, but what an ordinary Reader may easily see and Correct, a confidence in whose candour and good nature is doubtless a far better Apology in this case than to lay the blame at others mens doors.







